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ABSTRACT

Designed for teachers and researchers, this comprehensive outline of the history of North Carolina traces the state's history from its earliest Indian occupants to political events occurring during the 1960's. Over 40 chapters are included in the outline. In general, topics deal with expansion and settlement, agriculture and industry, transportation, social order, religious and cultural development, major wars, political development, education, and economic development. Appendices provide researchers with a general overview of types of records located in North Carolina. Appendix 1, an essay entitled "The Nature of the North Carolina State Archives" (by Paul P. Hoffman), provides readers with an understanding of broad categories of materials found there. Appendix II, "Resources of the Division of Archives and History," is divided by chapter headings which correspond to chapters in the outline. Appendix III contains information on those materials located within the individual sections that do not easily fit into one specific time frame or category. (LH)

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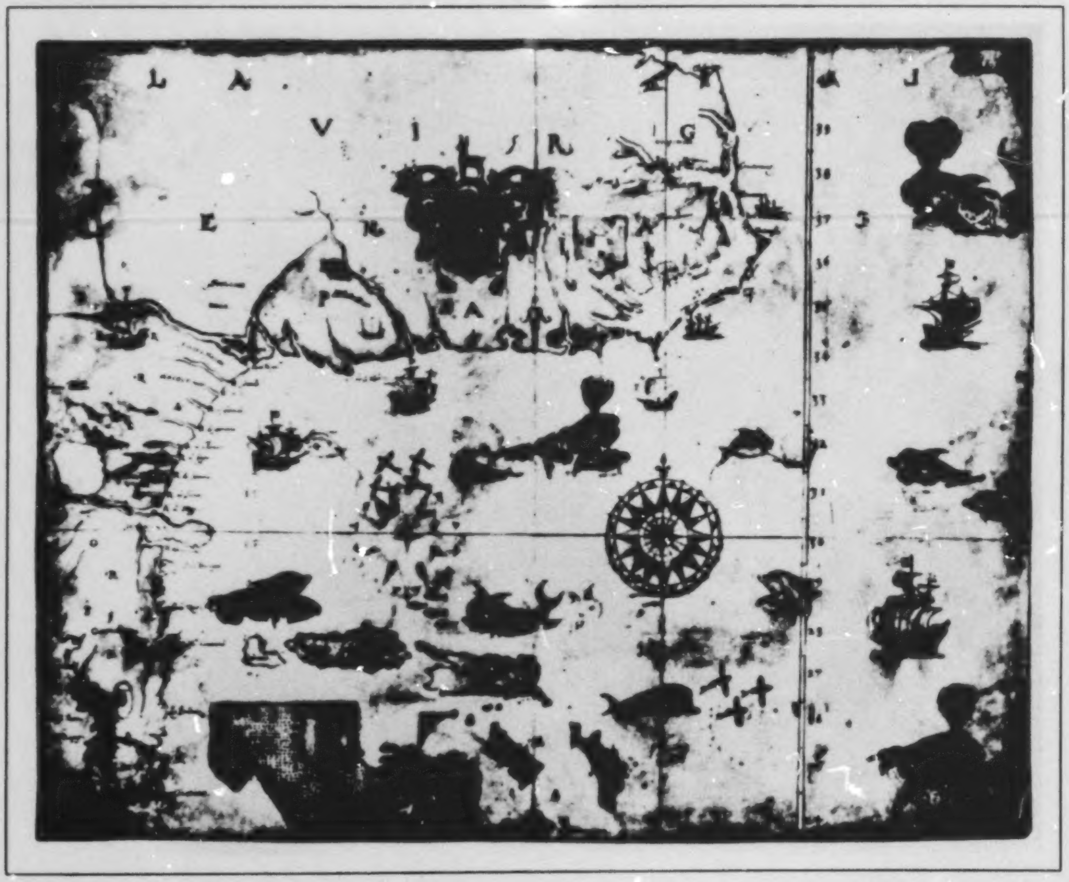

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Division of Archives and History
North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources
1979

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COVER: John White's 1585 map of North Carolina. Copies of this as well as other maps, drawings, and photographs, may be obtained in the North Carolina State Archives.

W. P. Cummings, *North Carolina in Maps* (Raleigh: State Department of Archives and History, 1966), Plate 1.

Courtesy of The British Museum and the North Carolina Collection,
University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill.

AN OUTLINE OF NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY

by

John W. Easterly, Jr.
and
Jo Ann Williford

Raleigh
Division of Archives and History
Department of Cultural Resources
1979

Reprinted by
North Carolina Department of Public Instruction
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1984

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FOREWORD

For the first time in several years, North Carolina history is now a separate study in the social studies curriculum. We are most pleased that the Division of Archives and History has given us permission to reprint and distribute this outline to eighth grade history teachers across the state.

We hope this publication will be a valuable resource to teachers as they plan and teach the interesting and exciting history of this state.

A. Craig Phillips
State Superintendent of Public Instruction

We hope the individuals using this outline will find this comprehensive overview of the history and resources of North Carolina helpful. We at the Division of Archives and History celebrate the vast array of public history programs and projects taking place across North Carolina; our agency is pleased to be part of the process and activity. We trust this outline will assist those of you involved in studying and analyzing the history of our state.

Special thanks for their good work in this endeavor go to Elizabeth F. Buford of this division and to John D. Ellington of the Department of Public Instruction.

William S. Price, Jr., Director
Division of Archives and History

PREFACE

Through the years many North Carolinians have taken great pride in this state's history and have worked diligently to collect and maintain its historical resources. Yet, there are countless citizens who are unaware of the history that has taken place and the wealth of information contained within our borders. It is our hope that this volume will help remedy that situation by providing researchers with a comprehensive outline of North Carolina history and a general overview of the types of records located here.

Within the body of the outline will be found several entries which begin "Inquiry concerning." These are areas of North Carolina history which have not been studied at length and which should provide possible research topics for students and other historians. The mammoth task of providing this outline fell to John Easterly, who changed jobs shortly after its completion. Whether one act is related to the other is uncertain, as is the question of whether John's subsequent move to Louisiana was an attempt to remove himself further from the countless facts of North Carolina history which he amassed during this project. At any rate, his efforts have provided us with a very complete outline of the people and events that comprise our state's history.

I was assigned the tasks of editing the outline and compiling the list of resources found in the appendixes. Appendix I, an essay entitled, "The Nature of the North Carolina State Archives," provides readers with an understanding of the broad categories of materials found there. To attempt to list the thousands of varied documents individually would be far beyond the scope of this project, but the essay should prove very useful to those who wish to learn something of our archival records.

A catalogue of resources for the other sections--Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Historic Sites, Historical Publications, Museum of History, State Capitol/Visitor Services, and Tryon Palace--follows the essay on archival materials. Appendix II is divided by chapter headings which correspond to the chapters in the outline. The resources, catalogued by section under each heading, deal with that specific period of history. The list may include publications, manuscripts, sites, or artifacts. Appendix III, entitled "Comprehensive Resources," contains information on those materials located within the individual sections which do not easily fit into one specific time frame or category.

Finally, on behalf of John Easterly and myself, I would like to thank all of those who helped bring this project to fruition. I extend a special vote of appreciation to Dr. William S. Price, Jr., Dr. Jeffrey J. Crow, and Ms. Terrell L. Armistead for their contributions and to Mrs. Myrle L. Fields for typing the appendixes.

Jo Ann Williford

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THE NATURAL SETTING: NORTH CAROLINA GEOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY

I. Three geographic regions.
A. Coastal Plain.
1. Outer banks: "Graveyard of the Atlantic."
2. Tidewater or Outer Coastal Plain
a. Amphibious landscape with abundant water-logged areas blur distinction between land and water surfaces.
b. Necks of land project irregularly into sounds and are occupied by large areas of swamps and lakes.
c. Prevalence of flat, poorly drained surfaces and absence of any conspicuous relief impose appearance of uniformity on landscape.
3. Western or Inner Coastal Plain lies at higher elevations than Outer Coastal Plain and has more pronounced relief.
4. Influence of geographic factors concerning Coastal Plain on North Carolina history.
a. Treacherous coast and lack of good harbors at first diverted, then retarded European settlement and have continued to be obstacles to economic development.
b. Coastal Plain is well suited to agriculture--rich soil, abundant rainfall, mild climate.
B. Piedmont.
1. Much of it lies between 500 and 1,000 feet above sea level. Going east to west, it rises gradually at rate of three or four feet per mile to foot of Blue Ridge.
2. Has rolling upland surface.
3. Climate is mild but somewhat cooler than Coastal Plain.
4. Region's rivers flow into ocean in South Carolina. Since trade routes followed valleys, North Carolina was to some degree split into eastern and western sections.
C. Mountain region embraces southern Appalachians.
1. Covers about 6,000 square miles.
2. Characterized by alternations of mountains and valleys.
3. Includes highest mountains of Appalachian system. Mount Mitchell, elevation 6,684 feet, is highest mountain in eastern United States.

II. Contrasts between Coastal Plain and Piedmont were responsible for early development of assertion that western part of colony had greater productivity and potential for settlement, an assertion which has been borne out by the facts.
A. Coastal Plain contains much greater amount of wetlands than Piedmont. Large proportion of wetlands impeded extension of settled area due to costs and difficulty of clearing such land.

B. Coastal parts were held to be less healthful, less temperate, and less pleasant than interior, probably due to hurricanes and mosquitos.

III. The wilderness as factor in early North Carolina history.
  A. Source of food, clothes, building materials.
  B. Forest industries, such as naval stores and lumber.
  C. Wildlife as problem for farmers.
  D. Inquiry as to whether frontier experience or European cultural heritage was greater factor in shaping lives of colonial and early national North Carolinians.

IV. Mineral resources--large variety but little abundance.

V. Inquiry concerning impact of social processes on geography and ecology at various stages of North Carolina history.
  A. Effects of coming of white man on natural environment.
  B. Effects of war, especially Civil War.
  C. Effects of population increase and migration, such as westward movement and urbanization.
  D. Effects of industrialization, such as pollution.

NATIVE AMERICANS: THE INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA

1. Indians seem to have migrated from Asia to America in prehistoric times. Investigations have yielded little evidence that Indian settlement in North Carolina dates back as early as that in several other areas of present U.S.

II. Tribes of North Carolina Indians.
A. Weak coastal tribes rapidly came under subjection of whites, and their decline in population and power was due to effects of contact with whites.
1. Hatteras Indians.
a. Occupied sandbanks in vicinity of Cape Lookout.
b. Evidence suggests that survivors of Lost Colony may have been incorporated into this tribe.
c. About 1700 tribe numbered only around sixteen fighting men with total population of eighty.
2. Chowan Indians.
a. Were strong tribe when settlers began to move into Albemarle region about 1650.
b. Assigned to reservation in late seventeenth century, by 1707 they had only one town with fifteen fighting men.
c. In 1733, when only a few families remained, they incorporated themselves with Tuscarora.
3. Others.
a. Weapomeiok.
b. Mattamuskeet.
c. Pamlico.
d. Bay River.
e. Coranine.
f. Neuse.
g. Woccon.
h. Cape Fear.
B. Tuscarora.
1. Were of Iroquoian stock.
2. Were fierce and aggressive, unlike weak coastal tribes.
3. Around 1700 they had 15 towns, about 1,200 fighting men, and approximately 5,000 in total population. They inhabited large area between coast and present Wake County.
4. About 1710, after half century of apparent friendship between whites and Tuscarora, situation worsened; in part because large numbers of Tuscarora were being seized and sold into slavery.
5. Tuscarora War broke tribe's power. With war's end in 1713, many Tuscarora fled northward to join their Iroquois kinsmen. Others remained in eastern North Carolina and united with remnants of other tribes under leadership of Chief Tom Blount on reservation.
6. Early in nineteenth century, remaining Tuscarora in North Carolina left to join brothers in New York.

C. Minor Piedmont tribes.
   1. Saponi.
   2. Tutelo
   3. Occaneechee.
   4. Saura.
   5. Keyauwee.
   6. Eno.
   7. Saxapahaw.

D. Catawba.
   1. Largest and most important tribe of Siouan stock in Piedmont.
   2. Lived along Catawba River.
   3. Sedentary, agricultural people.
   4. Hereditary enemies of Cherokee.
   5. Were always friendly toward whites except during Yemassee War in 1715.
   6. Tribe suffered rapid decline due to diseases introduced by contact with whites, especially smallpox.
   7. After death of their chief King Haiglar, in 1762 at hands of Shawnee, tribe largely ceased to be of importance.
   8. In early seventeenth century, tribe's population was probably over 5,000. By 1826 it was about 110.
   9. By 1944 population was 280, most of them living on reservation along Catawba River.

E. Cherokee.
   1. Since early European settlements tribe has occupied more prominent place in American history than any other tribe or confederation of Indians except Iroquois or Six Nations of New York.
   2. Throughout much of tribe's history, population has generally fluctuated between 20,000 and 25,000.
   3. Unlike other tribes of North Carolina, Cherokee offer many and varied sources for historians and other scholars.
   4. They are mountain people, detached branch of Iroquois stock.
   5. In 1730 North Carolina made treaty with Cherokee in which Cherokee acknowledged King George II as sovereign.
   6. Increasing conflicts between Cherokee and settlers led to determined campaign by whites against them in 1761. This campaign led to destruction of fifteen Cherokee towns. There followed several years of peace.
   7. During the Revolution, Cherokee were allied with British against colonists, continuing their active opposition till 1792.
   8. In later years Indians ceded tract after tract of land to federal government. Disputes over land among Indians, settlers, and federal and state governments were complex.

9. In 1835 Cherokee council assented to treaty which provided for tribe's removal to the Indian Territory, an area in northeast corner of what is now state of Oklahoma. Federal government forced its will on tribe by using minority delegation of Cherokee to push treaty through their council over opposition of majority of tribe's rank and file.
10. Removal to Indian Territory began toward end of 1837. Hundreds died on journey.
11. Some Cherokee resisted removal and became fugitives in mountains of western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee. After a time, however, they agreed to surrender due to influence of trader William H. Thomas.
12. Thomas's extended negotiations with federal government led to permission for Cherokee to remain in their ancestral home.

III. Inquiry concerning Indian societies prior to coming of white man.
   A. Geographic areas.
   B. Physical characteristics of peoples.
   C. Population.
   D. Family life.
   E. Economy.
   F. Social structure.
   G. Political organization (including warfare).
   H. Arts.
   I. Religion.

IV. Impact of invasion of whites on history of Indians.
   A. Depopulation through disease, warfare.
   B. Migration, including removal and reservations.
   C. Radical alteration, in some cases destruction, of Indian cultures.
   D. Inquiry concerning evolution of white man's image of Indian and of his "Indian policy."

V. Indian contributions to American civilization as it exists today, for example:
   A. Place names.
   B. Crops.
   C. Myths and traditions.

EUROPEAN EXPLORATION AND BEGINNINGS OF SETTLEMENT, 1497-1660

I. Discovery of North Carolina.
A. John Cabot, sailing under auspices of England, 1497-1498, discovered North American continent. Although he may have touched Carolina coast, he probably did not.
B. Giovanni da Verrazzano, Florentine navigator in service of France, is first European known to have explored coast of North Carolina. In 1524 he explored coast from Cape Fear northward to present Kitty Hawk and sent description of area to King Francis I.

II. Spanish activities.
A. Pedro de Quexoia led expedition from Santo Domingo to Carolina coast in 1520.
B. Among members of this expedition was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, who in 1526 made unsuccessful attempt to plant colony, probably on Cape Fear River.
C. Hernando de Soto in 1540 explored mountain region.
D. In 1561 Angel de Villafane led Spanish expedition from Vera Cruz to Cape Hatteras.
E. Juan Pardo and Hernando Boyano explored mountains of North Carolina in expedition of 1566-1567.

III. First English efforts at colonization: Sir Walter Raleigh.
A. Although his efforts failed, Raleigh is justly called "Father of English America."
B. Raleigh obtained charter from Elizabeth I authorizing colonization in 1584.
C. He then sent out expedition of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe to explore country and recommend site for settlement.
1. Expedition chose Roanoke Island as site for colony.
2. Established relations with Indians and brought two back to England.
3. Barlowe wrote encouraging report concerning area.
D. Ralph Lane colony, 1585-1586.
1. Expedition consisted of 7 ships, 108 men under command of Sir Richard Grenville and Ralph Lane.
2. Arrived at Roanoke on August 17, 1585.
3. Settlers had problems.
a. Too much time spent exploring and seeking gold, too little cultivating soil and building houses.
b. Scarcity of food.
c. Indian hostility.
d. Friction among leaders.
e. Lack of solid basis for government.
4. Colony returned to England with Sir Francis Drake's fleet in 1586.
5. Expedition of Grenville, which had been sent to England for supplies, returned to Roanoke shortly after island had been abandoned. Grenville soon returned to England, leaving behind eighteen men who were never heard of again.

6. Significance of Ralph Lane colony.
    a. First English colony in New World.
    b. John White's paintings depicted Indian life.
    c. Thomas Hariot's book on Roanoke, A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia.

E. John White colony, or "Lost Colony," 1587.
    1. This expedition consisted of 110 people, including 17 women and 9 children.
    2. Baptism of Manteo was first recorded Protestant baptismal service in New World.
    3. Birth of Virginia Dare, first child of English parents born in America.
    4. For a time colony fared well. But soon it ran low on supplies, and White sailed to England.
    5. He was not able to return until 1590, when colonists had disappeared. Their fate has remained mystery.

F. Raleigh's efforts to found colony were thus failures, but his activities stimulated interest in New World.

IV. Permanent English colonization of North Carolina came through gradual settlement of Albemarle region by colonists from Virginia.

A. Virginia Company of London promoted establishment of Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607, first permanent English settlement in New World.

B. Most of what became North Carolina was included in Virginia charter boundaries of 1606 and supplementary grant of 1609.

C. Virginia began to expand about 1612, and explorers, hunters, traders, and farmers began to penetrate Chowan River-Albemarle Sound area.

D. First recorded expedition into this area was made by John Pory (1622).

E. In 1629 Charles I granted his Attorney General Sir Robert Heath certain territory between 31 and 36 degrees north latitude and from sea to sea, which was to be incorporated into "Province of Carolana." Heath failed to settle his grant.

F. Gov. William Berkeley of Virginia sent two expeditions against Indians in Albemarle Sound region in 1646.

G. Two mid-seventeenth century accounts of region were letter in Moderate Intelligencer of London, 1649, and Edward Bland's tract, The Discovery of New Brittaine, 1650.

H. Roger Green of Nansemond County, Virginia, in 1653 received large grant of land in Carolina region. It is not known if his colonization project materialized, but if it did, it is probable that beginning of North Carolina settlement dates from this time.

I. By 1660 there was steady flow of people from Virginia into Albemarle area seeking new lands and economic opportunities.

J. First known permanent white settler in North Carolina was Nathaniel Batts, who in 1654 or 1655 settled on Chowan River in present Bertie County.

ALBEMARLE COUNTY: CRADLE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1663-1689

I. Carolina proprietary charter of 1663.
   A. Issued by Charles II as means of paying political debt to some important men and retaining their support.
   B. Eight Lords Proprietors.
      1. Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon.
      2. George Monck, duke of Albemarle.
      3. William, earl of Craven.
      4. Lord John Berkeley.
      5. Sir William Berkeley.
      6. Sir George Carteret.
      7. Lord Anthony Ashley-Cooper (later earl of Shaftesbury).
      8. Sir John Colleton.
   C. Motives for charter other than personal ones of king.
      1. Spread Protestantism.
      2. Enlarge British empire.
      3. Promote commerce.
      4. Enrich proprietors.
   D. Second charter issued in 1665 extended boundaries of Carolina.
   E. Provisions of charter.
      1. Some powers of proprietors.
         a. To create and fill offices.
         b. To erect counties and other subdivisions of government.
         c. To establish courts of justice.
         d. To collect taxes and duties.
         e. To raise and maintain militia.
      2. Some limitations to proprietors' powers.
         a. Laws could be enacted only with advice and assent of "freemen" or their delegates.
         b. Settlers were guaranteed liberties and privileges of English subjects.
         c. Settlers were guaranteed rights of trade and freedom from taxation except by consent of "free people" or majority of them.

II. Proprietors made plans for development of three counties.
   A. Albemarle consisted of land from Chowan River eastward.
   B. Clarendon included land south of Albemarle, extending to Cape Fear Valley. Lasted only from 1665 to 1667.
   C. Craven covered area south of Cape Romaine in what was to become South Carolina.

III. Documents concerning government of Carolina Proprietary.
   A. "Declarations and Proposals to All That Will Plant in Carolina," 1663, outlined framework of government and conditions for granting lands.
   B. "Concessions and Agreement," 1665, proposed another plan.

C. "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," 1669.
  1. Supposedly written by Shaftesbury and John Locke at instance of proprietors.
  2. Purpose was to revise previous documents, protect property rights, and promote settlement.
  3. Plan was elaborate, but little of it was actually put into effect.
  4. Proprietors abandoned document in 1693 due to colonial legislature's refusal to approve it.

IV. Actual government of Albemarle was vested in governor and his council which was chosen by proprietors and an assembly elected by freeholders.
  A. Governor had extensive executive, legislative, judicial, and administrative powers.
  B. Council assisted governor and had some executive, legislative, and judicial powers.
  C. Assembly went through several steps in its evolution.
    1. From 1665 to 1669 twelve men were elected annually to sit with governor and council as legislature.
    2. Beginning in 1670, when Albemarle was divided into four precincts (Chowan, Pasquotank, Perquimans, Currituck), each precinct was allotted five delegates in assembly.
    3. In mid-1690s bicameral system was adopted and lower house elected its own speaker and exercised some "parliamentary privileges" similar to those of British House of Commons.
    4. Governor was dependent on assembly for his salary, and this body very gradually increased its power through control of appropriations.
    5. Controversies between assembly and governor ran through history of Albemarle and occurred throughout North Carolina's colonial history. Quarrels frequently centered around following issues:
      a. Governor's salary.
      b. Quitrents.
      c. Land patents.
      d. Rent rolls.
      e. Taxes.
      f. Paper currency.
      g. Defense.
      h. Selection of officials.
  D. Court structure.
    1. Headed by General Court, which was colony's appellate court. In 1712 Christopher Gale was appointed first chief justice.
    2. Court of Chancery was governor and council.
    3. Each precinct had court administered by justices of the peace.

V. Albemarle County, 1663-1689.
   A. Main themes were unrest, confusion, slow growth, and rebellion.
   B. Reasons for bad situation.
      1. Isolation of settlement.
      2. Neglect by proprietors, who put more effort into South Carolina settlement.
      3. Failure to establish stable, efficient government.
   C. Problems.
      1. Confusion over land tenure. "Great Deed of Grant," 1668, only partially alleviated situation.
      2. Efforts to stimulate settlement largely failed.
         a. Legislature passed several laws designed to encourage immigration.
         b. Proprietors circulated promotional literature.
      3. Hostility of Virginia, and fears among Albemarle settlers that their colony might be made part of Virginia also caused unrest.
      4. Minor Indian uprisings.
   D. Political instability, 1673-1689.
      1. Colonists resisted British trade laws, especially Plantation Duty Act of 1673, which required payment of duty if colonists shipped tobacco and certain other commodities to other colonies.
      2. In late 1673 two factions formed in Albemarle government.
         a. One, led by John Jenkins, George Durant, and John Culpeper, had control of government and opposed enforcement of trade laws.
         b. Second faction, led by Thomas Eastchurch and Thomas Miller, opposed them and sided with proprietors.
      3. Acting Governor Jenkins's arbitrary attempt to crush opposition led assembly to depose and jail him. Eastchurch and Miller went to England, gained support of proprietors, and in 1676 were awarded control of government to enforce trade laws.
      4. Miller was ousted in late 1677 in so-called "Culpeper's Rebellion." Durant and Culpeper took control of government. Miller escaped jail and took his case to proprietors in England.
      5. Culpeper went to London to present his side but was arrested. After investigation he secured acquittal.
      6. Proprietors in 1678 appointed Seth Sothel as governor and collector of customs in Albemarle in effort to have neutral government.
      7. Sothel was captured by pirates, and Durant faction gained control until Sothel's arrival in 1683.
      8. He turned out to be arbitrary and corrupt, and assembly banished him in 1688.
      9. Philip Ludwell was appointed by proprietors as governor of all Carolina "north and east of Cape Feare" in 1689. History of Albemarle as distinct colony ended and that of North Carolina began.

THE EMERGENCE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1689-1729

I. Gibbs Rebellion, 1690, was settled when Ludwell and John Gibbs both went to London to argue their respective claims for governorship. Gibbs was repudiated.

II. The period 1691-1706 was one of stable government and expansion of settlement.
   A. North Carolina was governed by a series of capable acting or deputy governors.
      1. Thomas Jarvis, 1691-1694.
      2. Thomas Harvey, 1694-1699.
      3. Henderson Walker, 1699-1704.
   B. Bath County created in 1696.
   C. French Huguenots began to settle in North Carolina, especially in Neuse-Pamlico region.
   D. Town of Bath was founded in 1704/5, first town in North Carolina.

III. New Bern was founded in 1710 by German Palatine settlers, along with some Swiss and a few English, under leadership of Baron Christoph von Graffenried.

IV. Controversy over religion.
   A. Anglican church was only one that could have official encouragement, but in North Carolina it was in state of lethargy.
   B. Quakers grew in strength and at times held balance of political power in colony.
   C. Other Protestant denominations were present in small numbers.
   D. Vestry Act of 1701 provided for organization and support of Anglican church, but proprietors rejected it.
   E. Vestry Act of 1703.
      1. Provided that all members of assembly must take oath that they were communicants of Church of England.
      2. It denied right of affirmation which Quakers had enjoyed for many years, was passed by assembly despite Quaker opposition, and dissenters were banned from assembly.
   F. In 1707 proprietors ordered suspension of all laws concerning oaths, and controversy continued until legislature of 1715.

V. Cary Rebellion, 1711.
   A. Thomas Cary (governor of North Carolina, 1705-1707, 1708-1711) was embroiled in disputes between intolerant Anglicans and dissenters. During second term of office, he identified himself with interests of Bath County residents and dissenters as opposed to established Albemarle politicians.

B. Cary's successor Gov. Edward Hyde called for harsh legislation against dissenters and arrest of Cary at General Assembly meeting in March, 1711.
C. Cary rallied his supporters to resist.
D. After two inconclusive battles, Hyde received military aid from Virginia and routed Cary, who was captured and sent to England for trial, though never punished.
E. Although effort to improve status of Anglicanism at expense of dissenters was important factor in rebellion, the growth of Bath County and its increasing demand for larger voice in government dominated by established Albemarle leadership were decisive elements.

VI. Tuscarora War, 1711-1713.
  A. Indians' grievances against whites.
    1. Encroachment on hunting grounds.
    2. Seizure of land.
    3. Kidnapping of Indians into slavery.
    4. Dishonesty of economic transactions.
    5. Failure of Indian protests.
  B. Immediate cause was whites' settlement of New Bern region.
  C. On September 22, 1711, Indians attacked settlements along Neuse and Pamlico rivers and killed at least 150 colonists.
  D. Chief Tom Blount of northern towns of Tuscarora remained neutral.
  E. Governor Hyde drafted men into militia and asked for help from Virginia and South Carolina.
  F. Expedition of "Tuscarora Jack" Barnwell, 1712, ended in truce with Indians.
  G. Expedition of Col. James Moore, undertaken after Indians resumed attacks, broke power of Tuscarora, 1713.
  H. Results of war.
    1. Many colonists killed.
    2. Country laid waste.
    3. Immigration slowed.
    4. Most Tuscarora emigrated.
    5. Forced colonists to heal quarrels left over from Cary Rebellion.

VII. Period of peace and quiet followed Tuscarora War.
  A. Reasons for stability.
    1. Removal of Indian danger.
    2. Effective leadership of Gov. Thomas Pollock, 1712-1714.
    3. From 1710 proprietors appointed governor of North Carolina who was "independent of the Governor of Carolina."
  B. Administration of Gov. Charles Eden, 1714-1722.
    1. Legislature of 1715.
      a. Revised and codified colony's laws.
      b. Vestry Act established Anglican church on sound footing.
      c. "Act for Liberty of Conscience" gave dissenters right of affirmation.

        d. Enacted first slave code.
        e. Foundation was laid for struggles between governors and legislatures which would characterize royal period.
    2. "Golden Age of Piracy," 1689-1718.
        a. Blackbeard.
        b. Maj. Stede Bonnet.

C. Administrations of Governors George Burrington, 1724-1725, and Richard Everard, 1725-1729, were marked by continued immigration and expansion.
    1. New towns.
        a. Beaufort.
        b. Edenton.
        c. Currituck.
    2. Settlement of Lower Cape Fear Valley.
        a. Brunswick, 1727.
        b. Wilmington, 1740.
    3. Determination of boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia, 1728.
    4. Proprietorship ended in 1729, and North Carolina became royal colony.
        a. Royal government was wary of unsettled and disturbed situations in proprietary colonies.
        b. Proprietors never realized sizable returns from North Carolina.

IMMIGRATION AND EXPANSION, 1729-1775

- I. Royal government was more stable and efficient than proprietary.

- II. Royal period saw rapid population increase and settlement of new areas.
  - A. In 1729 population of colony was 30,000 whites, 6,000 blacks. By 1775 it was 265,000 whites, 80,000 blacks.
  - B. Changes were due mainly to immigration.
  - C. Immigrants' motives for coming to America.
    - 1. Wars in Europe/ lure of peace and security in America.
    - 2. European poverty and unemployment/ cheap land, high wages in America.
    - 3. Religious persecution in Europe/ freedom of worship in America.
    - 4. Legal discriminations, harsh penal systems in Europe.
    - 5. Adventure, desire to start new life in New World.
  - D. Trends in population and settlement.
    - 1. Settlement of Cape Fear Valley and Piedmont occurred.
    - 2. Settled area expanded steadily westward.
    - 3. Population density increased both in east and west.
    - 4. There was tendency for higher densities to occur in northern half of colony rather than southern half.

- III. Ethnic groups of new immigrants.
  - A. Scotch-Irish.
    - 1. Most probably came from colonies to north of North Carolina, especially Pennsylvania. They usually came overland by way of "The Great Road from the Yadkin River thro' Virginia to Philadelphia." It became known as "Great Wagon Road."
    - 2. Others came directly from Ireland.
    - 3. Most settled in Piedmont region.
  - B. Scottish Highlanders.
    - 1. Most came directly across ocean from Scotland.
    - 2. Their arrivals reached height in 1760s and 1770s.
    - 3. Most settled in southern Piedmont.
  - C. German-speaking immigrants.
    - 1. They were from different Protestant religious denominations, especially Lutherans, Moravians, and Reformed.
    - 2. Almost all came to North Carolina via "Great Road" after stays in northern colonies. Original homes varied greatly.
    - 3. Settled almost exclusively in western North Carolina.
  - D. Sizable proportion of immigrants were of English stock.
    - 1. Many came from colonies to north, especially Virginia.
    - 2. Came from all other directions as well.
    - 3. By 1775 only in oldest settled parts of colony was there markedly English culture.
  - E. Others.

IV. Inquiry concerning "Old World" cultural patterns in new environment.
   - A. Characteristics, customs, and beliefs of each ethnic group which settled in North Carolina.
   - B. Degree of cultural identity each ethnic group of immigrants retained in new environment from generation to generation.
   - C. Contributions of each ethnic group to history of North Carolina and of western civilization.

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY, 1729-1775

I. Agriculture.
  A. At least 95 percent of early settlers were engaged in agriculture. North Carolina became colony of small landowners. Less of a plantation elite developed here than in Virginia and South Carolina.
  B. Land and slaves as major forms of wealth.
  C. Land tenure system.
    1. Headright system.
    2. Purchase was customary way to obtain land after 1730.
    3. Primogeniture and entail.
    4. Quitrents.
    5. Land grants.
  D. Methods of farming were backward and unscientific.
  E. Farmers' problems: crop pests, overproduction, fluctuating prices.
  F. Three important themes in colonial North Carolina's agricultural development.
    1. Regional variations.
    2. Influences of distinctive cultural groups.
    3. Increasing commercialization of agriculture.
  G. Principal crops.
    1. Corn.
      a. Easy to raise, it could be put to many uses.
      b. Since surplus of corn was one of first consequences of settlement, some farmers produced for market.
      c. In 1753 about 12,000 bushels were exported, and in 1772 about 177,000. Most went through Port Roanoke.
    2. Wheat.
      a. It was unique, because apparently from outset it was raised primarily as commercial crop.
      b. Moravians regarded it as their most important crop.
      c. Wheat was grown most often in Piedmont and area north of Albemarle Sound to which immigrants from colonies to north settled.
    3. Tobacco.
      a. Most important nongrain crop.
      b. Grown originally in Albemarle area and confined for some decades to northern part of colony. In years just prior to Revolution it spread southwest.
      c. Tobacco growers used large numbers of slaves.
      d. Although volume of exported tobacco increased in years before Revolution, total exports remained small relative to Maryland and Virginia.
      e. Role of Scottish merchants was significant in encouraging tobacco production.
    4. Rice and indigo.
      a. In first half of eighteenth century production of these crops began in small amounts. They were never widely grown. Production of indigo ceased entirely after Revolution with end of British bounty on it.

b. Rice and indigo were significant for small area in lower Cape Fear Valley--New Hanover and Brunswick counties.
  1) Much labor was necessary to grow these crops, and producers invariably needed large numbers of slaves.
  2) Growing these crops accentuated lower Cape Fear's regional individuality. Area was different from rest of colony because it was settled relatively late, starting about 1725, by wealthy men who took possession of large landholdings and had many slaves.
  3) Naval stores and lumber yielded more income here than rice and indigo.
  4) Compared to South Carolina, there were few large-scale planters in Cape Fear region and average size of their slaveholdings was much smaller.

H. Livestock.
  1. Raising livestock--cattle, hogs, draft animals--was as universal as growing corn.
  2. Livestock driving was common form of trade in eighteenth century, especially cattle and hogs.
  3. Commerce in dairy products--butter and cheese--was also carried on but was less valuable.
  4. Large herds of livestock were rare.
  5. Regional contrasts.
    a. Livestock holdings larger in east than in west.
    b. Commercial production of dairy products was confined to areas away from coast.
    c. In contrast to other segments of population, Scottish Highlanders placed more stress on raising cattle than hogs.

II. Industry.
  A. Household manufactures stimulated by abundance of raw materials and of unskilled labor.
  B. Commercialized manufactures.
    1. Slow to develop due to:
      a. Scarcity of capital and skilled labor.
      b. Poor transportation facilities.
      c. Lack of good ports.
      d. High freight rates on exports and imports.
    2. Major commercialized industries.
      a. Naval stores (tar, pitch, resin, turpentine) were colonial North Carolina's chief contribution to commerce.
        1) Traditional synonym for North Carolinians--"Tar Heels"-- suggests early importance of naval stores, though how and when name first came into use has never been satisfactorily established.
        2) Colony became great producer of naval stores due to abundance of longleaf pine.
        3) Bulk of naval stores was produced in southern part of colony. Several factors accounted for this situation.

    - a) South had greater extent of longleaf pine close to coast.
    - b) Large holdings of land.
    - c) Abundant slave labor.
  - 4) Bulk of naval stores was exported through southern ports of Brunswick, Wilmington, and Beaufort.
    - a) Almost all naval stores were exported either to Britain or West Indies or to other American colonies.
    - b) South had advantage in getting products to ports due to Cape Fear River and its tributaries. Albemarle Sound area had no such advantageous water facilities.
- b. Lumber industry: great variety of wood products were made in North Carolina but only three of these were exported in significant amounts.
  - 1) Sawn lumber: sawmilling industry developed in Cape Fear Valley.
    - a) Large quantities of pine wood were available.
    - b) Mills were usually located on body of water which served as both source of power and means of transport.
    - c) Used slave labor.
    - d) Often combined with naval stores industry.
    - e) Most sawn lumber was exported from Brunswick and Wilmington.
  - 2) Staves were produced mainly in northern part of colony since that area contained necessary supplies of bottomland and swamp hardwoods. They were exported mainly through Port Roanoke.
  - 3) Shingles were produced mainly in area around Albemarle Sound due to its large amount of swampland containing the necessary white cedar and cypress trees. But most of eastern North Carolina produced some shingles, and export trade was fairly evenly distributed among ports.

TRANSPORTATION, TRADE, TOWNS, AND COMMUNICATION IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

I. Transportation.
   A. Sailing ships carried on foreign and coastal commerce.
   B. Although North Carolina had few good outlets for ocean commerce, it had excellent system of inland waterways--sounds, rivers, and creeks--for use by small craft. These became chief arteries of travel and trade.
   C. During seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, transportation was primarily by water--both inland and along coast. Towns developed along them.
   D. In eighteenth century roads became important.
      1. Colonists developed rudimentary, serviceable network of paths and roads as settlement expanded to areas away from waterways. By 1775 there was relatively large number of roads in colony, though few of them were very good.
      2. Regulations and laws were passed for construction and maintenance of roads but they were not rigidly enforced.
      3. Lack of bridges and ferries often hampered travel.
      4. Roads were adequate enough to make possible development of inland trading towns as well as to expand importance of seaport towns.
      5. Vehicles used on roads included two-wheel carts and four-wheel wagons. Travelers also walked and rode horseback. Lodging was rare and poor.

II. Trade and towns.
   A. North Carolina commerce was probably aided more than hampered by British Navigation acts.
   B. Commerce was subject also to laws imposed by colonial legislature.
   C. Towns.
      1. Trade, most important function of all colonial North Carolina towns, dominated their growth and decline.
      2. Eastern seaports.
         a. There were six.
            1) Edenton
            2) New Bern
            3) Wilmington
            } major seaports at end of colonial period.
            4) Brunswick
            5) Bath
            6) Beaufort
            } small seaports, declining in importance at end of colonial era.
         b. Seaports were urban expressions of colonial structure of economy. Through them went raw materials destined for overseas and items imported for sale within colony. There was little manufacturing, and merchants were most important occupational class.
         c. Differing fortunes among six towns, as colony expanded, resulted from process by which need and opportunity for merchandising services led to proliferation of merchants in three, leaving other three without important commercial base.

d. Major exports: naval stores, provisions, lumber products, tobacco.

e. Major imports.
  1) From Britain--manufactured goods.
  2) From West Indies--sugar, molasses, salt, rum, slaves.
  3) Various items from other American colonies.

3. Midland towns.
  a. There were four:
    1) Halifax.
    2) Tarboro.
    3) Cross Creek } later became Fayetteville.
    4) Campbelltown } later became Fayetteville.
  b. They originated in third quarter of eighteenth century. Reason for existence was internal trade which utilized both overland and river transportation. These towns were links between east and west.

4. Western towns.
  a. There were four.
    1) Hillsborough.
    2) Salem.
    3) Salisbury.
    4) Charlotte.
  b. Founded in 1750s and 1760s, they were reflections of influx of settlers into backcountry and development of rudimentary system of trade, transportation, and communication. They provided first generation of backcountry settlers with administrative, judicial, and commercial services.

5. There were, in addition, scattered urban centers of strictly local importance.

D. Decentralized trade away from towns also went on by way of country stores and itinerant traders.

E. Most commercial transactions were made by barter or credit notes. Specie was scarce.

III. Communication was slow and uncertain due to rudimentary postal system and dispersal of settlements.

THE SOCIAL ORDER IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

I. The social order was product of two conflicting forces.
A. European ideas about class distinctions.
B. Pioneer conditions which tended to undermine these class distinctions.

II. The gentry, or planter elite, probably comprised less than 5 percent of the population.
A. Homes: though planters' homes and furnishings reflected superior social status, there were few really large and imposing homes before Revolution; e.g., Orton, Cupola House, John Wright Stanly House.
B. Furnishings: most planters lived quite comfortably; often things were imported from Europe or New England.
C. Dress: considered a badge of social rank and frequently led to extravagance.
D. Food: planter had abundance and variety in his diet, which came mainly from plantation and forest.
E. Sports and recreation: consisted mainly of parties and suppers, dancing, cockfighting, and horseracing (gambling).

III. Small farmers and artisans largest element of population.
A. Yeoman farmers engaged in subsistence farming; did not own much land.
B. Homes: usually only one room with homemade furnishings.
C. Food: staples were corn bread, hominy, and pork.
D. Sports and recreation: logrollings, house-raisings, and quilting bees.

IV. Indentured servants.
A. Voluntary servants--"redemptioners"--whose servant status was temporary.
1. Term of service usually three to four years.
2. Got "freedom dues" when term expired.
B. Involuntary white servants--felons, paupers, political prisoners.

V. Negroes: there was large increase in black population during royal period.
A. Beginnings of slavery in North Carolina.
1. Slavery in Carolinas was deliberately planted and cultivated.
2. In 1660s group of enterprising gentlemen from Barbados, well-acquainted with slavery, proposed immigration with some blacks to new colony. Their agreement with proprietors made clear distinction between status of white servants and that of black slaves.
3. Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina, 1669, granted each freeman of colony "absolute power and authority over his Negro slaves." English civil authorities offered little or no resistance to growth of this idea of uncontrolled personal dominion.

B. Free blacks.

1. Most acquired freedom through legal manumission.
2. By end of seventeenth century North Carolina and several other colonies passed laws reassuring masters that conversion of their slaves to Christianity did not necessitate manumission. Such laws were response to occasional claims that a slave's Christianity made him free. North Carolina's law was part of "Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina," 1669.
3. In early eighteenth century several colonies passed laws to restrict number of blacks freed. During this period North Carolina barred freed slaves from remaining in colony.
4. In nearly all southern colonies, free blacks were excluded from voting. In early eighteenth century North Carolina some free Negroes were able to vote, however. Although the colony prohibited Negro voting in 1715, it did not continue prohibition beyond 1730s.

C. Slaves.

1. Heaviest concentration was in eastern part of colony in tobacco- and rice-growing region.
2. Prices varied widely according to time, place, and condition of slave.
3. Control of slaves.
   a. Laws and plantation rules concerning slavery multiplied and became more complex with increase of slave population and passage of time.
   b. Mistreatment of slaves by masters ranged from outright cruelty to paternalism.
4. White opposition to slavery.
   a. Religious opposition developed early.
      1) Quakers opposed slavery, brought Negroes to their meetings, and tutored white and black children together in some small schools. Still, they made no substantial effort to bring blacks into full membership in their religious society. In fact some Quakers tried to exclude them.
      2) Moravians.
   b. In last decade before Revolution, as slavery was spreading westward, general opposition increased.
5. Other important issues concerning slavery.
   a. White culture's image of Negro.
   b. Retention of African heritage under institution of slavery.
   c. Everyday life of slaves.

VI. Inquiry concerning social interaction and mobility among all classes in colonial North Carolina.

VII. Inquiry concerning customs, manners, morals, beliefs among all classes.

A. Ideas about roles of man and woman.
B. Child-rearing practices.
C. Courtship customs.
D. Ideas about what constitutes adulthood; rites of initiation into adulthood.
E. Ideas about old age, death.
F. Moral and ethical codes.

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

I. Religion.
  - A. Anglicanism attracted wide membership but was not active. Vestry Act of 1765 was landmark.
  - B. Quakers continued to flourish until Revolution.
  - C. Presbyterians.
  - D. Baptists had become most numerous sect by Revolution and led opposition to established church.
    - 1. Kehukee Baptist Association.
    - 2. Sandy Creek Church and Separate Baptists.
  - E. German religious sects.
    - 1. Moravians--Bethabara.
    - 2. Lutherans.
    - 3. German Reformed.
  - F. Methodists--last Protestant sect to appear in North Carolina before Revolution.

II. Education and culture.
  - A. Education was usually associated with the church. Pioneer educational agency was Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
  - B. Planters tended to take interest in education.
  - C. Education among the social classes.
    - 1. Children of wealthy were given instruction at home and then perhaps sent to college in England or another colony.
    - 2. Among poor, children were provided with some education through systems of indentured servitude and apprenticeship.
  - D. Scotch-Irish and Germans quickly established schools in their communities.
  - E. Although some governors and legislatures endorsed the concept of public schools, it was left to church groups and individuals to establish schools.
  - F. North Carolina's first college--Queen's College in Charlotte, 1771.
  - G. Books were scarce in colony, but after 1730 libraries were common among planters.
  - H. First printing press in colony was set up in 1749 to print the proceedings of provincial legislature. James Davis, the printer, soon founded the colony's first newspaper, The North Carolina Gazette.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1730-1763:
CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROVERSIES AND ANGLO-FRENCH WARS

I. The royal governors.
  A. George Burrington, 1731-1734.
  B. Gabriel Johnston, 1734-1752.
  C. *Nathaniel Rice, 1752-1753.
  D. *Matthew Rowan, 1753-1754.
  E. Arthur Dobbs, 1754-1765.
  F. William Tryon, 1765-1771.
  G. Josiah Martin, 1771-1775.
  *Presidents of council acting in absence of commissioned governor.

II. English background: mercantilism, policy of "salutary neglect," and reign of George II.

III. Points at issue between governors and assemblies.
  A. Governor's salary.
  B. Control over taxation.
  C. Colony's judicial system.
  D. Tenure of judges.
  E. Quorum in assembly.
  F. Quitrents and questions on land tenure.
  G. Granville district--"private proprietary grant" within the colony--deprived colony of much revenue.
  H. Issuing of paper money, use of commodity money.
  I. Tax system.
  J. Other quarrels between governors and assemblies.

IV. North Carolina-South Carolina boundary dispute.
  A. Surveys of 1730s failed to end dispute.
  B. Problems about land tenure in disputed area.
  C. Anson County as scene of controversies over taxes, rents, etc.
  D. Difficulty of trade between the two colonies.
  E. Surveys of 1764 and 1772 were inconclusive; issue still unsettled at end of Revolution.

V. North Carolina's role in Anglo-French wars of 1689-1763.
  A. Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713.
  B. War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739-1744, and King George's War, 1744-1748. North Carolina troops fought for first time as part of British army.
  C. Decade of 1740s saw several Spanish attacks on North Carolina coast.
  D. The French and Indian War, 1754-1763.
    1. Background: European diplomacy.
    2. North Carolina assembly failed to vote on "Albany Plan of Union."
    3. North Carolina contributed along with other American colonies to British victory.
    4. The colony's troubles with Indians.
      a. French intrigue among Cherokees and Creeks.
      b. Fort Dobbs built 1755 to defend whites.

c. Cherokees at Fort Dobbs, 1760.
d. Battle of Echoee, 1760--Cherokees defeated colonists.
e. Grant's expedition of 1761 defeated Indians.
f. Augusta Conference of 1763--peace with Indians.

SECTIONALISM IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

- I. North-south sectionalism: conflict between Albemarle and Lower Cape Fear, 1730s-1754.
  - A. Causes.
    - 1. Political: Albemarle area dominated representation in General Assembly.
    - 2. Economic:
      - a. Albemarle traded largely through Virginia; its land rents were low.
      - b. Cape Fear traded directly with outside world, having little connection to Albemarle; its land rents were higher.
  - B. Events.
    - 1. Gov. Gabriel Johnston, whose interests lay in Cape Fear region, had prolonged quarrel with assembly during 1730s and 1740s over quitrents, accurate rent roll, and location of state capital.
    - 2. "Rump Assembly" of 1746 fixed seat of government at New Bern and reduced representation of Albemarle counties in legislature.
    - 3. Controversy erupted and was thrown in lap of king and Privy Council, which made no decision for seven years.
    - 4. In 1754 Gov. Arthur Dobbs brought with him instructions upholding Albemarle's position on representation. Legislature convened in New Bern and controversy subsided.
- II. East-west sectionalism.
  - A. In past work, scholars have almost surely exaggerated degree of east-west sectionalism in colonial period of North Carolina history.
  - B. Undoubtedly some east-west sectionalism existed, due to several contrasts between two regions.
    - 1. Nationalities.
      - a. East settled mainly by English and by Scottish Highlanders.
      - b. West settled by Scotch-Irish and Germans.
    - 2. Economy.
      - a. East had more of plantation economy based on slave labor and aristocratic ideals.
      - b. West stressed small farms, free labor, democratic ideals.
    - 3. Religion: Anglicans fairly strong in east, very weak in backcountry.
    - 4. Commercial contracts.
      - a. East traded primarily with England, West Indies, and New England.
      - b. West traded primarily with Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina.
  - C. Western opposition to location of colonial capital at New Bern, 1766, and to construction of Governor's Palace, 1770, was prime example of sectional controversy in decades preceding Revolution.

THE NORTH CAROLINA REGULATORS, 1766-1771

I. Regulation was organized movement of white farmers which swept three counties of western North Carolina--Orange, Anson, and Rowan--from 1766 to 1771. Seven surrounding counties also exhibited sympathy for Regulators.

II. Regulation was not merely sectional struggle between western farmers and eastern aristocrats but rather contained elements of class struggle.
   A. Regulators were class-conscious white farmers of West who attempted to democratize local government in their counties and to replace their wealthy and corrupt local officials with farmer representatives who would serve interests of farmers and all "the people."
   B. When Regulators attacked governor and eastern elite, it was merely because many of their problems were provincial in origin and demanded provincial rather than local solutions. They perceived their enemy not as East but as wealthy class of all sections of colony.

III. Regulators attacked colony's wealthy class with good reason, for there was close interrelationship of wealth and political power.
   A. Royal governor and council appointed the affluent to local militia and civil posts.
   B. These men ensured their continued reappointment in administrative, judicial, police, and military functions of each county.
   C. Invariably these same officials were elected to vestry and assembly due to use of their wealth and appointive power, including control over nominating and electoral processes.
   D. Officials used offices to add to private fortunes in many ways.
      1. Awarding public contracts to favorites.
      2. Building roads, bridges, buildings, harbors, ferries, and towns for convenience of rich and powerful.
      3. Issuing licenses for mills to favorites.
      4. Insuring public offices held by wealthy to be remunerative.
      5. Granting compensations to masters for executed slaves.
      6. Awarding exorbitant commissions to favored few to handle currency emissions.
   E. Officeholders exploited their poorer and weaker constituents more directly, and this situation was prime source of Regulator grievances.
      1. Collected unlawful taxes and fees and corruptly handled public monies. Such actions misapplied money collected from the people and increased already high tax levels.

2. Instituted regressive tax system that depended primarily on poll taxes, duties, fees, and work levies, which disproportionately burdened poor.
3. Scarcity of currency made burden of taxation greater.
4. Creditors, merchants, lawyers, and public officials brought increasing number of court suits against indebted farmers while lawyers and officers charged exorbitant or extortionate court fees. Moneyless farmers lost much of their property, which was then corruptly sold at public auction below its value to members of in-group.
5. Officeholders maintained these conditions by passing biased laws and manipulating their application.

IV. Development of conflict, 1766-1771.

A. Sugar Creek uprising, 1765, in Anson and Mecklenburg counties, broke out due to longstanding discord over land problems, which remained a grievance of some regulators.
B. George Sims's "Address to the People of Granville County," 1765.
C. Sandy Creek Association, organized in 1766 in Orange County, was forerunner of Regulators.
D. Regulators organized early in 1768 in Orange County.
E. Governor Tryon sent message in which he promised to consider Regulators' grievances, May, 1768.
F. Governor Tryon's next letter to Orange County, however, condemned Regulators' unlawful resistance to taxation and court decisions while offering no important concessions.
G. Meanwhile farmers organized Regulator movements in other counties, especially Anson and Rowan.
H. In July, 1768, Tryon went to Hillsborough. Communications between Tryon and Regulators brought heightened tension, and in September Tryon gathered about 1,400 militia in show of force which intimidated Regulators, who disbanded their own force.
I. From September, 1768, to November, 1769, there was peaceful phase during which Regulators paid taxes and sought redress by petitions to legislature and election of farmer assemblymen.
J. Peaceful tactics brought Regulators no relief, and disorders and mob actions occurred in Regulator counties during fall of 1770.
K. Governor Tryon responded by beseeching legislature to raise army to crush Regulators.
L. Assembly passed harsh Johnston Riot Act, January, 1771, which enraged Regulators.
M. Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771.
    1. Tryon ensured military confrontation by pursuing it relentlessly. Regulators were conciliatory, asking only that governor take steps toward redressing their grievances.
    2. Tryon's forces consisted of 1,185 disciplined, well-armed men; Regulator force numbered 2,000 to 3,000 undisciplined, poorly armed men.

3. After two-hour battle, Regulators retreated, having sustained losses of about 17 to 20 killed, over 100 wounded. Tryon's forces listed 9 dead, 61 wounded.

N. Aftermath of battle.
   1. Immediately after, Tryon summarily hanged one Regulator and destroyed large amount of their property.
   2. In June, 1771, fourteen Regulator prisoners were tried. Two were acquitted, six pardoned, and six hanged.
   3. Regulation was over as organized movement.
   4. Eventually, over 6,000 Regulators or supporters gained amnesty by signing oaths of allegiance.
   5. Many Regulators left colony.

V. Controversy still exists over relationship of Regulators to American Revolution.
   A. Old view was that most Regulators opposed Revolution.
   B. Recently argument has been made that most were patriots, but it rests on inconclusive evidence.
   C. Best hypothesis may be that most remained neutral.
   D. Many old Regulator reforms became popular during Revolution and after.

THE COMING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763-1775

I. Background.

A. Mercantilism was basic principle on which British colonization was built. Navigation acts and other acts concerning trade translated mercantilistic principles into law.

B. But 1713-1763 was period of "salutary neglect" in which England seldom interfered with the colonies.

C. After 1763 England under Grenville ministry inaugurated its "New Colonial Policy" which led to clash of interests between mother country and her colonies.

1. Program included strict enforcement of all trade laws.
2. Standing army of 10,000 men sent to colonies.
3. Guarantees of financial independence for royal officials in colonies.

II. North Carolina's resistance to Stamp Act.

A. Effect of new policy on North Carolina was small except for Stamp Act, passed in 1765.

B. Controversy was reflected in pamphlets.

1. Martin Howard's Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax to his Friend in Rhode Island.
2. Maurice Moore's The Justice and Policy of Taxing the American Colonies in Great Britain.

C. Stamp Act Congress of 1765 had no representative from North Carolina due to efforts of Governor Tryon.

D. Demonstrations against Stamp Act in coastal North Carolina.

1. Wilmington, October 19 and 31, 1765: demonstrators forced resignation of Stamp Master William Houston.
2. Brunswick, February 18-21, 1765: armed Sons of Liberty, led by Hugh Waddell, John Ashe, and Cornelius Harnett, sabotaged British attempts to enforce Stamp Act.

E. Repeal of Stamp Act, passage of Declaratory Resolution, 1766.

III. North Carolina's resistance to Townshend Act.

A. Townshend Act, passed 1767, placed import duties on several items.

B. Massachusetts Circular Letter, Virginia letter on Townshend duties, 1768.

C. North Carolina assembly's petition to king, 1768.

D. North Carolina assembly's resolves, 1769.

E. Assembly met illegally and formed "nonimportation association" under leadership of Speaker John Harvey, November, 1769. Effects on commerce difficult to assess.

F. Townshend duties repealed in 1770 except for tax on tea.

IV. Moving toward revolution.
A. Period of calm, 1770-1773.
B. Cornelius Harnett supported Massachusetts's plan for Committees of Correspondence.
C. North Carolina's first Committee of Correspondence, 1773.
1. John Harvey.
2. Robert Howe.
3. Richard Caswell.
4. Edward Vail.
5. John Ashe.
6. Joseph Hewes.
7. Samuel Johnston.
8. Cornelius Harnett.
9. William Hooper.
D. Clash between governor and assembly over colony's court system.
E. Tea Act of 1773 and Boston Tea Party.
F. "Edenton Tea Party," October, 1774.
G. Coercive acts of 1774.
H. North Carolina supported Boston and even sent supplies.
I. First Provincial Congress assembled August 25, 1774.
J. North Carolina sent three delegates--William Hooper, Richard Caswell, and Joseph Hewes--to First Continental Congress, September-October, 1774.
K. Second Provincial Congress, April, 1775.
L. Last royal assembly coincided with Second Provincial Congress.

V. War.
A. Lexington and Concord, April, 1775.
B. During 1774-1775, eighteen counties and four towns set up safety committees.
C. "Mecklenburg Resolves," May 31, 1775.
D. Flight of Gov. Josiah Martin, May-June, 1775.
E. Burning of Fort Johnston, July 19, 1775, was first overt act of armed rebellion in North Carolina.
F. Governor Martin's "Fiery Proclamation," August, 1775.
G. Hillsborough Provincial Congress, August, 1775, set up elaborate provisional government for colony and made preparations for war.
H. Social divisions created by Revolution.
1. Whigs were plurality of population; they were diverse group socially, probably composed mainly of small farmers and artisans, including some large landowners.
2. Loyalists or tories were fairly strong in North Carolina and also included many different types of people, especially old official class, well-to-do professionals, wealthy merchants, and planters.
3. Some people made conscious decision to remain neutral, especially many Germans and members of religious groups such as Moravians and Quakers.
4. Apathy was also factor in province's social response to war. Many North Carolinians probably ignored Revolution as long as it did not touch their daily lives. Some probably shifted among several possible roles as situation changed.

I. Before fighting began in North Carolina, its Whigs gave military aid to Virginia and South Carolina.
J. Governor Martin had plan for British conquest of North Carolina and entire South, and his proclamation of January, 1776, called for suppression of rebellion.
K. Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776, was victory for Whigs.
L. After battle tide of war turned away from North Carolina for nearly three years.

THE TRANSITION FROM COLONY TO STATEHOOD, 1776

I. Background to North Carolina's first state constitution.
  A. Before 1775 there was little talk among colonists of independence from England, even by Whig leaders.
  B. Military events of 1775-1776 caused shift in colonial opinion, gave momentum to movement for separation from empire.
  C. Such resolutions as "Mecklenburg Resolves" of May 31, 1775, declared commissions by crown "null and void."
  D. Fourth Provincial Congress, April, 1776.
    1. Halifax Resolves.
    2. Council of Safety was set up to rule state temporarily.
  E. Declaration of Independence, July, 1776.
  F. Election of October 15, 1776.
    1. Rival groups of contestants.
      a. Conservatives, led by Samuel Johnston, James Iredell, and William Hooper, favored strong executive, independent judiciary, and property qualifications for voting and officeholding.
      b. Radicals, led by Willie Jones, Thomas Person, and Griffith Rutherford, favored "simple democracy" including strong legislature, weak executive, and religious freedom.
    2. Of 169 delegates chosen in the elections, conservatives and radicals got about an even number of seats with moderates holding balance of power.

II. Adoption of state constitution and bill of rights--Halifax, December, 1776.
  A. Preamble gave reasons for revolt against crown.
  B. Declaration of Rights enumerated twenty-five rights of the people against any government.
  C. Three branches of government were established.
    1. General Assembly.
      a. Consisted of Senate and House of Commons.
      b. Significant salient feature of constitution was shift to legislative predominance and away from executive supremacy of colonial period.
    2. Executive.
      a. Governor.
      b. Council of State--consisted of seven members.
      c. Other major executive offices: secretary, treasurer, attorney general.
    3. Judiciary--consisted of judges appointed by joint ballot of General Assembly, commissioned by governor to hold office during good behavior.
  D. Structure of local government remained much as it had been in colonial times. Constitution provided for creation of offices of sheriff, coroner, and constables in each county.
  E. Delegates to Continental Congress were to be chosen annually by General Assembly.

F. Constitution provided for freedom of worship, although there were religious disqualifications for officeholding.

G. There were property qualifications for suffrage and officeholding.

H. There was no provision for amendment, which was to cause controversy for years to come.

I. Final observations.
   1. The new government was relatively democratic--more so than royal government had been but less than government set up under Constitution of 1835 would be.
   2. Constitution was similar to that of other American colonies.
   3. The document was the work of many men, and its ideas came from many sources. Most influential men among members of drafting committee were Richard Caswell and Thomas Jones.

THE NEW STATE AND ITS PROBLEMS, 1776-1781

I. The new government.
   A. Fifth Provincial Congress appointed Richard Caswell governor; his inaugural was in January, 1777.
   B. Cornelius Harnett chosen president of Council of State.
   C. General Assembly, which met for first time in April, 1777, faced immediate problems.
      1. Military problems.
         a. Raising and equipping army.
         b. Loyalists.
         c. Indians, especially Cherokees.
         d. Maintaining navy and privateers.
      2. Economic problems such as taxes and currency.
      3. Necessity for political unity of state--war demanded centralization of power while constitution stressed decentralization.
   D. Major legislation of first General Assembly.
      1. New militia law and division of state into six military districts.
      2. Law defining treason and prescribing death penalty for it.
      3. Law to prevent domestic insurrections, especially among slaves.
      4. Laws setting up judicial system, election of six judges.
      5. Appointment of many new officials, especially in counties.
      6. Forgery of bills of credit or lottery tickets was made felony punishable by death.

II. Defects apparent in new constitution.
   A. Undemocratic features disillusioned masses.
   B. Inequitable distribution of seats in General Assembly favored East and angered West.
   C. Weakness of executive.
      1. Governor had few powers, only one-year term.
      2. Executive weakness was significant factor in collapse of state government after David Fanning's capture of Gov. Thomas Burke at Hillsborough in 1781.

III. Development of divisions within Whigs.
   A. Radicals, strong in West, were mainly small farmers.
   B. Conservatives, strong in East, were mainly planter-slaveholders.

IV. Government's policy toward loyalists.
   A. At first it used conciliation and persuasion.
   B. Law of 1777, however, required tories to take oath of allegiance or suffer banishment. Persons found aiding enemy were subject to imprisonment for war's duration and to having half their estates confiscated.
   C. Law of 1779 listed sixty-eight tories whose estates were to be confiscated.
   D. Punitive laws, social ostracism led many loyalists to leave state.

V. The government's financial problems.
   - A. Inflation.
   - B. Taxation.
     - 1. General property tax was enacted and its rate increased as war continued.
     - 2. Taxes in kind.
     - 3. There was much inefficiency and corruption in tax system.
   - C. Other sources of state revenue.
     - 1. Loan system.
     - 2. Sale of confiscated tory property.

VI. Effects of war on commerce.
   - A. Trade was irregular but it continued; British could not blockade dangerous coast.
   - B. Revolution ended old commercial order as British laws and markets disappeared. Exports changed in nature as tobacco, for example, became more important. Imports changed also as foremost need of colonies became arms.
   - C. War gave impetus to shipbuilding.
   - D. North Carolina privateers were more numerous and effective than state's navy.

THE WAR IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1776-1781

I. Three kinds of troops from North Carolina fought in war.
   - A. Regiments in Continental Line.
     - 1. Ten regiments consisted of about 6,000 soldiers during the whole course of war.
     - 2. Recruiting methods were bounty and conscription.
   - B. State militia.
     - 1. Usual ratio of militiamen to Continental soldiers from state was about one to four.
     - 2. Militiamen were usually poorly armed and badly organized and led.
   - C. Bands of partisans or irregulars operated under several outstanding leaders, notably William R. Davie and William Lee Davidson.
   - D. Inquiry concerning daily lives of the three kinds of troops.

II. After Battle of Moores Creek Bridge, there was little military activity in state till 1781, except for Griffith Rutherford's campaign against the Cherokee Indians in summer of 1776.
   - A. Cherokees defeated.
   - B. In Treaty of Long Island, 1777, Cherokees ceded to whites all lands east of Blue Ridge and all lands along Watauga, Nolichucky, Upper Holston, and New rivers.

III. Activities of North Carolina troops outside state, 1776-1779.
   - A. Defense of Charleston, 1776.
   - B. From 1777 to 1780 North Carolina troops under Washington saw action in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey.
   - C. Francis Nash's brigade was at Battles of Brandywine and Germantown, 1777.
   - D. James Hogun's brigade fought in Battle of Monmouth, 1778.
   - E. During 1778-1779 soldiers were recruited from North Carolina for service all over South.

IV. The second British invasion of South, 1778-1781.
   - A. During 1778-1779 British restored royal rule in Georgia.
   - B. British conquest of South Carolina under Clinton and Cornwallis, 1780.
   - C. Cornwallis's delays gave North Carolina time to organize its resistance to anticipated invasion.
   - D. Small battles involving some of state's partisans broke out in summer of 1780.
   - E. August, 1780, Gen. Horatio Gates took command of American forces in South but was defeated at Camden, South Carolina, leaving way clear for British invasion of North Carolina.
   - F. Gov. Abner Nash suggested creation of special board to assist him in conduct of war.
     - 1. General Assembly created three-man Board of War in September, 1780.
     - 2. Board was replaced in early 1781 by Council Extraordinary.

G. Cornwallis occupied Charlotte, September 26. 1780.
H. Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780. American forces, made up primarily of militia from North Carolina, defeated Cornwallis's subordinate Col. Patrick Ferguson. The victory, coming after long period of gloom, lifted morale of patriots everywhere and demoralized tories.
I. Cornwallis retreated back into South Carolina.
J. Gen. Nathanael Green took command of American forces in South in December, 1780.
K. Battle of Cowpens, South Carolina, January 17, 1781. Greene's subordinate Daniel Morgan defeated Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton. Cornwallis's response was to pursue Greene, determined to destroy American forces in the area.
L. Greene conducted masterful retreat across North Carolina Piedmont in dead of winter, pulling Cornwallis far from his base of supplies.
M. Battle of Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781. Cornwallis won tactical victory over Greene but suffered strategic defeat, as his army was exhausted and deep in enemy territory.
N. Greene returned to South Carolina and recaptured interior for colonists.
O. Cornwallis joined British force at Wilmington, then decided to invade Virginia and took up a position at Yorktown.
P. Hemmed in at Yorktown, Cornwallis surrendered to Washington on October 19, 1781.

AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTION, 1781-1789

I. Closing phases of the war.
  A. British evacuation of Wilmington, November, 1781.
  B. Tory War of 1781-1782.
    1. Tories' attack on Hillsborough, led by David Fanning, September, 1781. Prisoners included Gov. Thomas Burke.
    2. Burke fled to freedom, January, 1782.
    3. Fanning departed from North Carolina, May, 1782. This marked end of Tory War.
  C. Treaty of Paris of 1783.

II. North Carolina's problems during "critical period" of 1783-1789.
  A. Long-range problems.
    1. Weak, inefficient state government.
    2. Unsatisfactory local government.
    3. Political strife and bitterness.
    4. Economic depression.
    5. Social and cultural demoralization.
  B. Immediate problems and their solutions.
    1. Background: political strife. Political divisions continued along lines similar to those drawn during Revolution.
      a. Conservatives had solid leadership.
      b. Radicals had majority support of electorate.
      c. Moderates.
    2. Prisoners of war: Gov. Alexander Martin successfully negotiated with British for exchange of prisoners, 1783.
    3. Veterans' legislation: Bonus Act of 1780 and Supplementary Act of 1782 gave grants of western lands to soldiers.
    4. Policy toward loyalists and their property.
      a. Confiscation acts of 1777 and 1779.
      b. Act of Pardon and Oblivion, 1783.
      c. Government continued to sell confiscated tory property.
      d. Bayard v. Singleton, 1786-1787. State court declared Confiscation Act unconstitutional. It was first decision under a written constitution declaring a legislative act unconstitutional.
    5. Location of state capital.
      a. New Bern remained capital until 1778. But by mid-1770s there were widespread demands, especially from West, for new, more centrally located capital.
      b. Hillsborough was capital, 1781-1782.
      c. During next few years, General Assembly met in several different places.
      d. Hillsborough Convention of 1788 adopted ordinance providing that capital be located within ten miles of Isaac Hunter's plantation in Wake County, leaving legislature to choose site.

e. Legislative commission chose site, 1791-1792. Legislature purchased Joel Lane's plantation and named new city Raleigh.

III. Cultural recovery.
  A. Newspapers, pamphlets on popular controversies, drama clubs, interest in books were indicators of cultural recovery.
  B. Education.
    1. Constitution of 1776 provided for establishment by legislature of public schools, but legislature was slow to act.
    2. Instead it incorporated numerous private academies, chartering forty-one, for example, between 1777 and 1780.
    3. Constitution of 1776 also provided that "Learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more Universities."
    4. Legislature passed act in 1789 providing for erection of state university.
    5. Chapel Hill chosen as site for university, 1792.
    6. UNC formally opened, 1795.
  C. Religion.
    1. Anglican church was officially disestablished by Constitution of 1776. Protestant Episcopal church not organized in North Carolina until 1817.
    2. Quakers and Moravians were for most part pacifists during war. Their membership remained almost static.
    3. Lutheran and German Reformed churches declined as German immigration ceased.
    4. Baptists, who generally supported patriot cause, remained strong and after war expanded rapidly.
    5. Methodists declined during Revolution due to Wesley's statement that they should remain loyal to crown. But in 1780 Francis Asbury's visit to North Carolina resulted in renewed activities leading to formal organization in 1785.
    6. Presbyterians were firmly established in state by 1777 and grew rapidly in postwar decade.
    7. By 1790 several churches had made much progress in North Carolina; however, only very small percentage of population belonged to any church.

IV. The economy.
  A. Revolution left state in debt and its currency worthless. Agriculture, industry, and trade did not revive for several years afterward.
  B. Legislature passed many laws attempting to improve economic situation.
    1. Laws designed to increase sales of public lands.
    2. Laws providing for building of roads, bridges, and ferries.
    3. Laws seeking to provide security for titles to property.
  C. Prime means of transporting goods continued to be by water.
  D. Shipbuilding flourished along the North Carolina coast.

E. Commerce began to revive in mid-1780s, but situation was changed from that of pre-Revolutionary North Carolina.
   1. Only 10 percent of foreign trade went to Britain; 50 percent to West Indies; 40 percent to other states of United States.
   2. Leading imports and exports remained the same as before war, although proportions changed and there was much less exchange with Britain.
   3. Tariff duties were levied on several items such as pepper, sugar, molasses, cocoa, coffee, and slaves. All state tariff laws were discontinued with adoption of U.S. Constitution.

V. Demography and expansion of settlement.
   A. Population increased from about 400,000 in 1790 to about 640,000 in 1820.
   B. Settlement continued westward. By 1775 there were settlements at foot of Blue Ridge. Asheville was incorporated in 1797.
   C. Trans-Allegheny region was beginning to be settled by 1770s. Tennessee lands were ceded to United States in 1789.

VI. Inquiry concerning impact of Revolution on society.
   A. Classes which benefited most.
   B. Classes which suffered most.
   C. Effect on certain groups.
      1. Women.
      2. Blacks.
      3. Indians.
   D. Impact on other aspects of society.
      1. Law.
      2. Art and architecture.
      3. Others.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE FEDERAL UNION, 1777-1789

I. Articles of Confederation.
    A. Main features of Articles.
        1. Each state retained its sovereignty and independence.
        2. Central government was weak.
            a. Congress's powers were severely limited. Essentially Congress depended on the states to make its decisions effective.
            b. Weak executive branch. No president.
            c. No federal judiciary.
        3. Stress on localism followed political ideas Americans developed during controversy with England.
            a. Taxing power remained in hands of states.
            b. States were free of external trade regulations.
    B. Continental Congress adopted Articles in November, 1777. North Carolina's delegation, while generally favoring "state's rights" views, was divided on issue of adopting Articles as John Penn and Cornelius Harnett favored adoption, while Thomas Burke opposed it.
    C. General Assembly ratified Articles in April, 1778.

II. Controversy over North Carolina's western lands.
    A. State's claim to transmontane lands was based on colonial charter of 1663.
    B. Opinion in state was divided on issue of ceding lands to federal government.
        1. Easterners.
            a. Some opposed cession, advocated sale of lands to liquidate state debt.
            b. Others favored it to pay expenses of governing western region.
            c. Still others favored it, in case Congress adopted proposal to base state's taxes on total population.
        2. Westerners, both those in region beyond mountains and in Piedmont, generally favored cession.
            a. Hostility to East's domination of state and local government.
            b. Many people thought state government had neglected their interests, had not protected them militarily against Cherokees or commercially against Spanish.
    C. Cession Act of 1784, which provided for cession of western lands if certain conditions were met, was passed by General Assembly but soon repealed.
    D. "Lost state" of Franklin.
        1. Jonesboro Convention of August, 1784, presided over by John Sevier, urged Congress to accept Cession Act.
        2. North Carolina legislature, which repealed act, was conciliatory, creating judicial district of Washington and military district in the West.
        3. Second convention of westerners split and broke up in disorder.

        4. Two factions, one led by Sevier, other by John Tipton, each drafted constitutions creating state of Franklin at third convention in December, 1784.
        5. Another convention in November, 1785, adopted constitution championed by Sevier and made him governor.
        6. "Franklin" failed to gain essential support from Continental Congress, North Carolina, and Virginia.
        7. State of Franklin collapsed, even though counties of Tennessee country were torn by strife for a time.
    E. North Carolina ceded its western lands to U.S., 1789.
        1. In 1790 territory South of the Ohio was created.
        2. In 1796 state of Tennessee was admitted to Union, with its constitution written largely by former North Carolinians.

III. North Carolina and movement for "a more perfect union."
    A. Defects of Articles of Confederation became increasingly obvious.
    B. Annapolis Convention, 1786. No delegates from North Carolina were present.
    C. North Carolinians' positions reflected social and sectional conflicts.
        1. Those who favored reform were chiefly from East--townsmen, planters, and merchants. They were disturbed by chaotic condition of business and threat of political disorder.
        2. Great mass of small farmers from backcountry saw no need for stronger national government.
    D. North Carolina was not a leader in calling for Constitutional Convention.
        1. That North Carolina participated at all was due to activities of several eastern conservative legislators.
        2. On last day of legislative session in January, 1787, General Assembly elected five delegates to Constitutional Convention.
        3. Members of state's delegation were all from the upper class of society, well-educated, and conservative in outlook.
            a. William R. Davie.
            b. Richard Dobbs Spaight.
            c. William Blount.
            d. Alexander Martin.
            e. Hugh Williamson, most active and influential member of delegation.
    E. North Carolina's role in the Philadelphia convention.
        1. North Carolina usually voted with large states but did favor Great Compromise concerning basis of representation in House of Representatives and Senate.
        2. Delegation also supported three-fifths compromise, compromise on slave trade, and prohibition of taxes on exports.
        3. It opposed plan for single independent national executive.
        4. Among signers of Constitution were three from North Carolina--Blount, Williamson, and Spaight.

IV. North Carolina's initial refusal to ratify Constitution, 1788.
  A. Issue of ratification led to first definite party names in state politics.
    1. Federalists defended Constitution, were usually old Conservatives.
    2. Antifederalists were usually old Radicals.
  B. Federalist defense of Constitution stressed need for strong central government to end, in the words of James Iredell, "disordered and distracted" state of country. Iredell also stressed Constitution's provision for popular representation, its checks and balances, its provision for amendment, and how it would promote union of former colonists into one people.
  C. Antifederalists such as Thomas Person and Timothy Bloodworth agreed Constitution would lead to destruction of state's rights, removal of government from popular control, and promotion of industry at expense of agriculture.
  D. General Assembly, which convened at Tarboro in November, 1787, was marked by heated debates on Constitution.
  E. In campaign to elect delegates to convention to consider ratification, Antifederalists swept to victory, 184 delegates to 84.
  F. Hillsborough Convention, 1788.
    1. Ten states had already ratified Constitution by time convention met. An eleventh state ratified during convention.
    2. At end of deliberations, Antifederalists carried resolution proposing that a bill of rights be laid before Congress and a second federal convention.
    3. Antifederalist leaders were not opposed to union or to stronger central government, but only to central government strong enough to impair local self-government and endanger state's rights and civil liberties.

V. North Carolina ratifies the Constitution, 1789.
  A. Second election of delegates to consider ratification in the summer of 1789 ended with Federalists victorious by wide margin.
  B. Fayetteville Convention voted for ratification, 195 to 77 on November 21, 1789.
  C. Reasons for reversal.
    1. Censure of association with Rhode Island, with its reputation for radicalism.
    2. Effective Federalist promotional campaign.
    3. Favorable reports concerning new federal government under Washington.
    4. Need for increased southern representation in Congress.
    5. Need for protection from Indians, Spain, and Britain.
    6. Return of economic prosperity, attributed in part to new federal government.

7. Economic pressure of new federal acts relating to commerce, which regarded North Carolina as foreign nation. At the same time, temporary suspension of tonnage duties on North Carolina ships entering U.S. showed new government to be friendly.
8. Bill of Rights, though not yet adopted at time of North Carolina's ratification, was in circulation, and its adoption was predicted. North Carolina's initial refusal to ratify was undoubtedly a factor in submission of Bill of Rights to states by Congress.

D. All in all, North Carolina did not really like Constitution, but it liked notion of remaining independent even less. Result was delayed ratification.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE FEDERALISTS, 1789-1800

I. Party divisions in early national period.
    A. Federalists were followers of Hamilton.
    B. Republicans were followers of Jefferson.

II. North Carolina voted Federalist from 1789-1793.
    A. Its first two U.S. senators were Federalists--Samuel Johnston and Benjamin Hawkins.
    B. Three members of its first delegation to House of Representatives were Federalists, while two were Republicans.
    C. Still, most of the people of state were dissatisfied with extreme nationalistic policies of Federalist administration.
        1. Negative reaction to Judiciary Act of 1789.
        2. Associate Justice James Iredell's dissenting opinion in case of Chisolm v. Georgia was popular in North Carolina.
        3. State's delegates to Congress, supported by its citizens, opposed funding national debt.
        4. There was wide opposition to federal government's assuming state debts.
        5. There was opposition to Bank of the U.S.
        6. Most people in state objected to excise tax on spirituous liquors.
        7. There was much opposition to Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality in 1793.
        8. Opposition to Jay's Treaty was widespread in North Carolina.

III. State politics, 1789-1800.
    A. Of five governors during this period, two were Federalists.
        1. Alexander Martin, 1789-1792.
        2. Richard Dobbs Spaight, 1792-1795--Federalist.
        3. Samuel Ashe, 1795-1798.
        4. William R. Davie, 1798-1799--Federalist.
        5. Benjamin Williams, 1799-1802.
    B. General Assembly was predominantly Republican, especially after 1792.
    C. In delegation to House of Representatives, there was small Federalist majority, 1789-1793. During 1793-1799 all representatives but one were Republicans. Nathaniel Macon, state's most powerful representative, entered Congress in 1791.
    D. After 1794 state never had another Federalist in U.S. Senate.
    E. Although George Washington had no opposition in election of 1792, state's electors manifested reaction to Federalism by voting for George Clinton rather than John Adams for vice-president.
    F. In 1796 state gave eleven of its electoral votes to Jefferson and one to Adams.

G. Strained relations with France, due to the XYZ Affair and undeclared naval war, led to revival of Federalist power in North Carolina in election of 1798.

H. Alien and Sedition acts of 1798 led to widespread controversy in state.

I. There was much sympathy in state for the ideas expressed in Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798.

J. In 1799 President Adams sent William R. Davie to France as part of mission to settle undeclared war.

IV. Decline of Federalism in North Carolina after 1798.

A. Republicans and Thomas Jefferson triumphed in North Carolina in 1800, and Federalists never again threatened to gain control of state.

B. Reasons for decline of Federalists.

1. Removal of war threat.
2. Reaction against Alien and Sedition acts.
3. Retirement of Davie from politics.
4. Spaight's shift to Republican cause.
5. Joseph Gale's Raleigh Register.
6. Reaction against strong central government.
7. Federalist alliance with propertied classes and party's disregard of public sentiment.

NORTH CAROLINA IN THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA, 1801-1815

I. Republican strength increased as Federalism declined.
   - A. Republicans had young and influential leaders, especially Nathaniel Macon.
   - B. Raleigh Register was powerful, pro-Republican newspaper.
   - C. Republicans had control of federal, state, and local patronage.

II. State soon had one-party system.
   - A. Political contests were seldom about issues but rather about personalities.
   - B. Party loyalty became considerable force.
   - C. Ability of public officials declined after 1800.
   - D. Republican governors, 1799-1817.
     1. Benjamin Williams, 1799-1802, 1807-1808.
     2. James Turner, 1802-1805.
     3. Nathaniel Alexander, 1805-1807.
     4. David Stone, 1808-1810.
     5. Benjamin Smith, 1810-1811.
     6. William Hawkins, 1811-1814.
     7. William Miller, 1814-1817.
   - E. Republicans dominated state's delegation to Congress and its electoral vote for president from 1800 to 1816.
   - F. Opposition to national administration by North Carolina's delegation to Congress.
     1. Small Federalist minority consistently but ineffectively opposed policies of Jefferson and Madison.
     2. More important was opposition from within Republican party. Quids, led by Macon (speaker of the House, 1801-1807), opposed Republican majority on certain issues.
        - a. Yazoo land question.
        - b. Embargo and nonintercourse acts.
        - c. Declaration of war against England.

III. Major political issues in North Carolina, 1801-1815.
   - A. Economy in government.
   - B. Politicization of the university.
     1. Republicans criticized Federalist influence on University of North Carolina.
     2. Legislature passed "Gothic law" of 1800, depriving university's trustees of escheats.
     3. In University v. Foy, 1800, court held that legislature could not deprive university of its means of support.
     4. Next legislature, however, refused to repeal "Gothic law."
     5. In 1805 escheats were restored to university, but governor was made chairman of Board of Trustees, legislature was given power to fill vacancies on the board, and fifteen additional trustees were chosen.
   - C. Chartering of State Bank of North Carolina, 1810.

D. Electoral system for presidential elections.
  1. During 1792-1808 electors were chosen by legislature voting by court districts, which enabled Federalists to get three or four electoral votes.
  2. Republicans changed law in 1811 vesting choice of presidential electors in General Assembly. All electoral votes went to Madison in 1812.
  3. New law passed in 1815 retained district system but provided for general ticket whereby each voter voted for fifteen electors, one of whom would reside in each congressional district.

E. Indian removal and western land policy.
  1. In series of treaties, 1777-1798, Cherokees relinquished all their lands in North Carolina north and east of line approximating boundaries of present Haywood and Transylvania counties.
  2. State made hundreds of land grants in this area, most for modest acreages but some in excess of 100,000 acres to single grantee.

F. State judiciary.
  1. Complaints about system.
    a. Too few courts.
    b. Distances between court towns.
    c. Conflicting opinions of judges; no machinery for appeal.
    d. Courts were far from "the people."
  2. Laws of 1798 and 1800 provided for additional judges.
  3. Law of 1806 provided for superior court to be held in each county twice a year.
  4. Law of 1801 created a "Court of Conference" made up of all superior court judges. By 1805 it was designated state Supreme Court.
  5. In 1818 legislature created separate, independent, full-time Supreme Court of three judges.

G. North Carolina and Republican foreign policy.
  1. Republicans generally gave wholehearted support to national administration's foreign policies while Federalists opposed them.
  2. Relations with British reached critical point in years after 1810, and Congress was dominated by War Hawks. North Carolina had no conspicuous War Hawks.
  3. There was considerable opposition to war among state's delegation in Congress.
  4. War of 1812.
    a. Though the North Carolina coast was largely undefended and many citizens resented this neglect by national administration, British chose not to consider area as major objective.
    b. State furnished its quota of militia--7,000 men in 1812, 7,000 more in 1814.
    c. Three heroes of war from North Carolina.
      1) Lt. Col. Benjamin Forsyth.
      2) Capt. Johnston Blakeley.
      3) Otway Burns.

d. Criticism of war from North Carolinians in Congress.
   1) Republicans, while not outspoken against the war itself, criticized its management.
   2) Federalists were against the war and its management and were thoroughly discredited in eyes of the public.

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY NORTH CAROLINA: "THE RIP VAN WINKLE STATE"

I. North Carolina's problems after War of 1812.
    A. Agriculture, state's dominant occupation, generally yielded only bare living.
        1. Problems.
            a. Primitive methods of cultivation led to soil exhaustion.
            b. Poor transportation to markets.
            c. High prices for necessary articles.
        2. Regional picture.
            a. Piedmont and Mountain areas were most backward sections of state.
                1) Small subsistence farms with diversified crops prevailed.
                2) Main crops were corn, wheat, fruits, cattle, hogs, whiskey.
                3) No staple crops in most of these areas, except for pockets of cotton planters in southern part of state and tobacco planters to the north.
            b. Coastal Plain.
                1) Conditions were somewhat better in Albemarle-Pamlico Sound area. Chief products--corn, beans, peas, hogs, lumber--could be shipped by water to eastern towns and outside markets.
                2) Middle-eastern region featured considerable areas of staple crop production. Tobacco, rice, corn, pork, and naval stores were leading staples. There was high density of slave population. This was most attractive and wealthy area of state.
    B. Commerce.
        1. Internal, coastal, and foreign commerce was small.
        2. Dangerous coast was major handicap.
        3. Exports were mainly naval stores, lumber, tobacco, cotton, rice, corn, wheat, flour, pork.
        4. Wilmington was chief port.
    C. Roads were poor, virtually impassable in wet weather, and this was great handicap especially to commerce within state.
    D. Manufacturing did not develop until long after 1815.
        1. Mountain and Piedmont regions had ample resources for development of manufacturing, including climate, raw materials, water power, and cheap labor.
        2. Scarcity of capital, inadequate transportation, and impoverished home market discouraged building of factories.
        3. Schenk-Warlick Mill, established about 1815 in Lincoln County, was state's first cotton spinning mill.
        4. There were twenty-five cotton mills by 1840, but they served only local areas.
        5. State became increasingly dependent on North for its manufactured goods.

E. Finance.
   1. There were few banks.
   2. Specie was scarce; barter was widely used in local trading.
   3. Impossible for government to make adequate expenditures for state development due to inadequate public revenues collectible from a poor, tax-hating populace.
F. Intellectual conditions.
   1. Probably half the population was illiterate in 1840.
   2. Few libraries, theaters, and newspapers.
   3. No state aid to education and thus no opportunity for education among the mass of children.
   4. Prevailing attitude was that education was private matter and not responsibility of state.
G. Emigration increased. Driven by unattractive conditions in their native state, thousands of North Carolinians moved to other areas.
   1. Many of those leaving were young, energetic, and ambitious. Three future presidents of U.S. migrated.
      a. Jackson.
      b. Polk.
      c. Andrew Johnson.
   2. State's rank in population fell from fourth in 1790 to twelfth in 1860.

II. Fundamental factors behind North Carolina's backwardness.
   A. Natural handicaps.
      1. Poor water transportation facilities.
      2. Natural differences among areas encouraged sectionalism.
   B. Ill-suited system of government.
      1. Undemocratic local government was dominated by county court composed of justices of the peace appointed for life by governor and upon recommendation of county's representatives in General Assembly.
      2. Undemocratic state government was not representative of or controlled by the people.
         a. Restrictions upon voting and office holding favored those with property.
         b. General Assembly, which made laws and elected governor and U.S. senators, was virtually all-powerful.
      3. Dominance by the East, which continued to control creation of new counties and thus to keep a majority in General Assembly. Situation became grossly unjust by 1830, when West surpassed East in population.
      4. One-party system.
         a. Republicans became party of inaction, of status quo.
         b. Personal rivalries and patronage were more important in politics than public issues.
         c. Nathaniel Macon dominated and symbolized North Carolina politics in this era.

1) His personal integrity and simplicity pleased the people; his conservative views on public questions pleased East and dominant landlord group.
2) Eventually his rigid program of economy, state's rights, strict construction, and his opposition to schemes for national development such as the tariff and internal improvements led to decline of his influence on national politics.

THE MURPHEY PROGRAM FOR STATE DEVELOPMENT

I. Background: national changes after 1815.
  A. Peace, patriotism, and prosperity helped inaugurate nationalistic reform movement throughout country.
  B. During Monroe's first term, 1817-1821, Republican party abandoned its negative, state's rights program and embarked on constructive, nationalistic program stressing national defense, protective tariff, national bank, and internal improvements.

II. North Carolina shared in enthusiasm by carrying out several projects for general welfare even though they required larger government expenditures.
  A. State paid for education of orphans of Captain Blakeley and Colonel Forsyth.
  B. Purchase of Canova's statue and Sully's portrait of Washington.
  C. Legislature set aside Agricultural Fund in 1822 to aid local agricultural societies.
  D. Publications of state geological survey in mid-1820s were first in nation.

III. The Murphey program.
  A. Archibald D. Murphey.
    1. Intelligent, well-educated, public-spirited lawyer of Hillsborough.
    2. Represented Orange County in state Senate, 1812-1818.
    3. Collected masses of facts on backward conditions in state.
    4. Led new movement built around idea that democratic government should serve the people and encourage development of state.
    5. His brilliant reports to state Senate from 1815 to 1818 contained his program.
  B. The program.
    1. Internal improvements: state government should provide means to create unified system of land and water transportation to increase commerce. Among projects would be deepening of harbors and inlets, improved roads, canals.
    2. Education: state-supported system of public education for all white children. Advanced study in academies and university, however, would be available only to intelligent males.
    3. Constitutional reform: constitutional convention would remedy defects of Constitution of 1776, chief among them the system of equal county representation in legislature.
    4. Drainage of swamp lands.

IV. Response of state to program.
  A. Internal improvements program was adopted in part, but it failed to improve transportation system greatly.

1. Actions by legislature.
   a. Hiring of Hamilton Fulton as engineer for state.
   b. Surveys of rivers and proposed canals and inlets.
   c. Authorization of subscriptions of stock for canal and navigation companies.
   d. Creation of state fund for internal improvements.
   e. Creation of state board to direct new policy.
   f. Direction and funding of construction of several new roads.
2. Reasons for overall failure.
   a. Funds were insufficient, poorly invested.
   b. Rivalry of local interests precluded efforts to build unified system.
   c. Lack of experienced engineers.
   d. Hard times after 1819.
   e. Coming of railroad.
3. Despite failure, North Carolina had adopted new policy of state aid to internal improvements, and extension of this policy finally solved the transportation problem.

B. In public education, little was accomplished due to public indifference and legislature's lack of cooperation.
   1. Literary Fund was created in 1825 "for the establishment of common schools," but its receipts were low.
   2. Literary Board was created to manage it.

C. Eastern-dominated legislature refused to act on constitutional reform and swamp drainage.

D. Despite failure of Murphey's program, he had drawn blueprint for state development, and he ranks first among North Carolina's state-builders. His program also revealed basic sectional conflict in North Carolina, which was accentuated by panic of 1819.

V. Conflict among sections was evident on several important issues.

A. On internal improvements, West supported Murphey program while East opposed it.

B. West favored constitutional reform, while East was against it.

C. On issues of banking and finance, West and Sound region were strongholds of antibank, inflationary, unsound money sentiment, while middle-eastern section was conservative.

D. West protected legislature's caucus system which determined state's electoral vote for president and which insured domination by eastern interests.

E. West attacked general-ticket system, which also helped East to deliver undivided electoral vote for Republican presidential candidate.

F. National issues.
   1. On federal internal improvements, West and Sound area favored national program while middle-eastern area was opposed.
   2. North Carolina, being primarily agricultural, was antitariff.

3. Votes in Congress on Missouri Compromise revealed that West's senators and representatives were willing to restrict spread of slavery while those from East opposed any restriction.

VI. Sectional conflicts reveal that there was an insurgent reform movement in state after 1815, based mainly on sectional needs and self-interest, which was challenging dominant conservative champions of status quo.

NORTH CAROLINA'S CHANGING ROLE IN NATIONAL POLITICS, 1824-1835

I. From 1824 to 1835 conservative East determined state's role in national politics just as it dominated state politics.
   A. Reasons for eastern dominance in national politics.
      1. East controlled Republican party.
      2. General Assembly elected U.S. senators.
      3. Prestige of Nathaniel Macon.
      4. Caucus system and general-ticket system for choosing presidential electors.
   B. Eastern dominance led to widespread resentment in West and to division of Republican party, division which was first indicated at time of Missouri Compromise when state's delegations in Congress split evenly over question of excluding slavery in Louisiana Territory north of 36° 30'.

II. Presidential campaign of 1824 was first major blow at eastern dominance.
   A. Party regulars including Macon favored William H. Crawford for president. He stood for strict construction of Constitution, state's rights, economy in government, and opposed internal improvements and tariff.
   B. Certain elements from West, led by Charles Fisher of Salisbury, favored John C. Calhoun, young leader of party's nationalistic wing and advocate of internal improvements. Calhoun leaders formed "People's Ticket" of presidential electors opposed to Crawford ticket chosen by caucus.
   C. Calhoun men soon discovered that Andrew Jackson had best chance of defeating Crawford, and most of them shifted their support to Jackson, who was represented as champion of common people and advocate of internal improvements.
   D. "People's Ticket" swept to decisive victory with 20,000 votes based in West and Sound region to Crawford's 15,000 based in middle-eastern region and along Virginia border.
   E. Significance of election of 1824 in North Carolina.
      1. Victory for lower social orders.
      2. Revolt of West.
      3. Revolt against influence of Virginia.
   F. Election was thrown into House of Representatives.
      1. John Quincy Adams won due to Clay's support.
      2. Although North Carolina had gone for Jackson, ten of its representatives voted for Crawford. Of these, five were defeated in next election.

III. Political developments, 1824-1835.
  A. Macon and eastern interests soon shifted allegiance to Jackson since Adams was New Englander with nationalistic program and opposed slavery.
  B. In 1828 and 1832 Jackson carried reunited North Carolina.
  C. As president, Jackson disappointed West and Sound region and pleased East.
    1. East liked Jackson's first term for several reasons.
      a. Maysville Road veto suggested opposition to internal improvements.
      b. Appointment of John Branch of Halifax County as secretary of the navy (state's first cabinet member).
      c. His devotion to economy in government and state's rights.
    2. Dissatisfaction of West and Sound region became open during Jackson's second term due to several of his actions.
      a. Force Bill of 1833.
      b. Jackson forced resignation of John Branch.
      c. Unpopular Van Buren was Jackson's heir apparent.
      d. Veto of Clay's bill to distribute proceeds of public land sales to states.
      e. Destruction of Second Bank of the U.S.
      f. Growing friendliness of middle-eastern section with Jackson due to his state's rights policies.

IV. Formation of Whig party.
  A. Whig party as national organization was founded in 1834, and its elements were not unified except in their opposition to Jackson.
    1. Majority wing was made up of National Republicans, devoted to Clay's program of internal improvements, protective tariff, and national bank.
    2. Minority wing consisted of state's rights group of cotton planters in lower South.
  B. Whigs were formally organized in North Carolina in 1835.
    1. North Carolina Whigs belonged to National Republican wing of party, which favored policies that would aid in developing West and Sound area.
    2. Whig alliance between West and Sound area seriously challenged dominance of East, which remained predominantly Democratic (as Jackson's party had come to be known).
      a. Democrats were party of strict construction, state's rights, economy, and inactive federal government.
      b. In North Carolina they were based in areas of heavy slave-holding and staple-crop farming on plantation basis--middle-eastern section and two small regions of Piedmont.
    3. Whigs carried all presidential elections in North Carolina from 1840 through 1852, and it was one of strongest Whig states in South.

4. Whig-Democrat split encouraged development of parties in modern sense. After 1835 both parties gradually developed effective organization and machinery for use in campaigns--party caucus, state and district conventions, clubs, state and local committees, county meetings, local mass meetings, party newspapers. In election contests they used party emblems, slogans, circulars, processions, barbecues, joint debates. Campaigns were often marked by personal attacks and violent partisanship.

THE CONVENTION OF 1835

I. Reasons for dissatisfaction with Constitution of 1776.
   - A. Requirements for suffrage and officeholding favored propertied class.
   - B. Inefficient, wasteful government due in large part to weak executive and nearly all-powerful legislature.
   - C. Borough representation in General Assembly.
   - D. Intolerant religious provisions.
     - 1. Provision that no minister while actively discharging his pastoral duties could be member of legislature or Council of State.
     - 2. Provision forbidding public office to anyone who denied existence of God or truth of Protestant religion.
   - E. Free Negro suffrage under attack due to slavery issue.
   - F. Chief grievance against constitution was system of equal county representation in General Assembly.

II. Since Constitution of 1776 contained no provision for amendment, constitutional convention was necessary to change it.
   - A. From 1787 to 1833 numerous efforts to have convention called ended in failure, usually due to eastern opposition in legislature.
   - B. After 1830 western demands for convention became so strong that there was talk of revolution and secession.

III. In 1834 legislature passed law to submit question of convention to statewide referendum. A few eastern legislators joined with West to pass law for several reasons.
   - A. Eastern sentiment to reform illiberal religious provisions and abolish free Negro suffrage.
   - B. Support by West for removal of capital to Fayetteville and against rebuilding of Capitol in Raleigh won some eastern support for convention.
   - C. Diminishing contrasts between East and West, especially westward spread of plantation system.
   - D. Concern about emigration draining state's population.
   - E. Leadership of Gov. David L. Swain.
   - F. Whig party tended to unite West with commercial portion of East.

IV. The convention of 1835.
   - A. Referendum resulted in victory for those favoring convention.
   - B. Convention had 130 delegates, 2 from each county.
   - C. Governor Swain and William Gaston were probably most important leaders.
   - D. Major amendments to state constitution.
     - 1. Abolition of borough representation and free Negro suffrage.
     - 2. Equalization of poll tax for all persons subject to it.

3. Provision for impeachment of public officials.
4. Provision for constitutional amendment.
5. Substitution of "Christian" for "Protestant" in religious test for officeholding.
6. General Assembly sessions changed from annual to biennial; its power to enact private legislation was restricted.
7. Governor was to be elected every two years by all adult male taxpayers. He would be eligible for reelection but could not serve more than four years of any six.
8. Equal county representation in legislature was abolished.
    a. Senate would contain fifty members from districts whose inhabitants paid equal amounts of state taxes.
    b. House of Commons would contain 120 members distributed among counties according to population but with each county guaranteed one representative.
    c. Result was that East would control Senate, which represented wealth, while West would control House of Commons, which represented population.

E. Statewide referendum ratified amendments.
F. Convention of 1835 was turning point in North Carolina history. Represented victory for democratic principles and for West.

V. Whig-Democratic rivalry led to two-party system of government, which began to operate along with constitutional reforms of 1835.
A. Whigs won control of state government in election of 1836.
1. Leaders chiefly from West, usually men of wealth, education, and aristocratic views.
2. Geographic base was West and Sound region.
3. Classes it appealed to were small farmers, merchants, and businessmen who favored programs for state development.
4. Program was initially old Murphey program: public schools, internal improvements, sound banks and currency, promotion of industry.

B. Democrats.
1. Party of aristocratic planters and their followers. Leaders and supporters came from wealthy plantation-slaveholding counties of middle-eastern section and from northern and southern staple-growing counties of Piedmont.
2. For several years after 1835, program was mainly negative, urging economy and laissez-faire, holding that education and internal improvements were matters of individual and local concern.

THE WHIGS INAUGURATE AN AGE OF PROGRESS: NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1835-1850

I. Whig governors.
  A. Edward B. Dudley, 1837-1841.
  B. John Motley Morehead, 1841-1845.
  C. William A. Graham, 1845-1849.
  D. Charles Manly, 1849-1851.

II. Whigs in control of state government.
  A. State's share of federal surplus was about $1,433,000, which helped make possible program for state development.
    1. Used $100,000 for current expenses of state government.
    2. Used $600,000 for purchase of bank stock.
    3. Used $533,000 for purchase of railroad securities.
    4. Used $200,000 for internal improvements such as draining swamp lands.
    5. Since these investments were (all except $100,000) assigned to Literary Fund, federal surplus went largely to cause of public schools.
  B. Railroad building: by providing state aid to railroads, Whigs began era of railroad construction which revolutionized life in state.
    1. New Greek Revival Capitol Building, begun in 1833 and completed in 1840, was constructed of stone brought from nearby quarry on mile-and-a-quarter "Experimental Railroad"--first one in state.
    2. Only two of several railroad companies chartered by legislature between 1830 and 1835 succeeded in getting enough capital to begin construction. These were the Wilmington and Weldon and the Raleigh and Gaston railroads which, with state aid, were completed and began operation in 1840.
    3. Before 1854 state lost nearly $1 million aiding Raleigh and Gaston, but railroads were so beneficial that people still favored state aid for them and demanded more be built.
    4. In 1849 legislature chartered North Carolina Railroad from Goldsboro through Raleigh to Charlotte, which was completed in 1856.
    5. Effects of railroads were far-reaching.
      a. Freight rates cut in half.
      b. Encouraged production of surplus crops for market and increased farmers' profits while reducing their costs.
      c. Increased land values and productivity.
      d. Marked growth of towns, trade, factories, wealth, and state revenue.
      e. Promoted state unity and pride.
      f. Helped check emigration.
  C. Program for drainage of swamp lands was ineffective.
  D. Public schools.
    1. Joseph Caldwell's "Letters on Public Education," 1832.
    2. Constitutional reform of 1835 paved way for public schools, and federal surplus provided economic means.
    3. Public School Law of 1839 soon led to establishment

of public schools in every county in state. By 1850 there were 2,657 common schools operating with over 100,000 pupils.

4. Leaders and legislative support for school law came mainly from East.
5. In establishing legal provision for primary education of every white child in state and putting into operation statewide system of free public schools, North Carolina took advanced position among states of South and nation.
6. Schools were still disappointing for decade or more due to several weaknesses.
    a. In 1841 school law was changed.
        1) Basis of allocating Literary Fund to counties was changed to federal population, which discriminated in favor of heavy slaveholding counties (slaves were not allowed in public schools).
        2) County courts were no longer required to levy taxes to support schools but were only authorized to do so.
    b. No state administrative control of schools.
    c. County systems lacked uniformity.
    d. Local authorities were negligent in making reports.
    e. People tended to remain conservative and disliked paying taxes to local schools.
    f. Lack of good teachers.
    g. Lack of vigorous political leadership.

E. Humanitarian reforms.
    1. North Carolina Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Blind.
    2. State Hospital for the Insane promoted by Dorothea Dix.
    3. Agitation for improved system of caring for poor and for state institutions for orphans proved unsuccessful.
    4. Efforts to reform criminal law along more humanitarian lines were basically ineffective, although some progress was made.
        a. Subjection of married women to their husbands was lessened by law forbidding husband to sell or lease real estate belonging to wife at time of marriage without her consent.
        b. Number of capital offenses reduced from twenty-eight to twelve.
    5. Legal rights of Negroes--both slave and free--further curtailed in this period for several reasons.
        a. Rising value of slave property.
        b. Fear of insurrection.
        c. Reaction to growth of antislavery movement.
        d. Prominence of slavery as national political issue.

F. Fiscal system.
    1. Increased government expenditures necessitated larger tax revenues.
    2. Reassessments of property values and reenumerations of polls helped little.

3. Dominance of rural interest in legislature led to new taxes in 1840s on inheritance, incomes, licenses, and luxuries.
4. Light tax on slaves was glaring inequity in tax system.
5. State revenue doubled between 1835 and 1850 from about $70,000 to about $140,000, but increase was insufficient to maintain government's solvency.
6. In 1848 policy of issuing and selling interest-bearing bonds to borrow money was inaugurated, marking beginning of use of bonded state debt as feature of fiscal policy.

CONTINUED PROGRESS UNDER THE DEMOCRATS: NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1850-1860

I. Causes of Whigs' decline.
  A. Long lease on power encouraged conservatism and machine control.
  B. Elder statesmen of party dominated, discouraging ambitious young leaders from joining it.
  C. Whigs relaxed constructive policies such as aid to education and railroads.
  D. They became less sensitive to public opinion, becoming inattentive to masses of farmers and more attached to townspeople, commercial and manufacturing interests, and failing to respond to demands for a more democratic government.
  E. Stands on national issues weakened Whigs.
    1. Opposition to war with Mexico and to expansion.
    2. Party was divided on issues of legislature's right to instruct U.S. senators and of extension of slavery into territories.
    3. Whigs had poor image in South because most northern antislavery leadership was centered in their party.
    4. National party's support of national bank, protective tariff, internal improvements, and other measures also weakened party in North Carolina.

II. Causes of Democrats' rejuvenation.
  A. On national issues its stands were consistent with dominant sentiment in state and in South.
    1. It supported Mexican War and expansion.
    2. It insisted on primacy of state's rights and opposed exclusion of slavery from territories.
  B. New, young leaders emerged--such as William W. Holden and David S. Reid--who were determined to commit party to constructive, progressive program.

III. The Democrats gain control of state government.
  A. In election of 1848 Reid, running against Whig Charles Manly, made free suffrage--abolition of the 50-acre qualification for voting in senatorial elections --the issue of gubernatorial campaign.
  B. Manly came out against free suffrage and was hurt by this stand in small farm Whig West, but he still won narrow victory.
  C. After election of 1848 Democrats continued agitation for free suffrage, while Whigs were divided and vacillating on question.
  D. In election of 1850 Reid defeated Manly as Democrats came out for free suffrage amendment by legislative method. Democrats won majority in both houses of legislature.
  E. Democratic governors, 1851-1861.
    1. David S. Reid, 1851-1854.
    2. Warren Winslow, 1854-1855.
    3. Thomas Bragg, 1855-1859.
    4. John W. Ellis, 1859-1861.

IV. Democrats' record, 1851-1861.
A. Free suffrage amendment adopted in 1857 by popular referendum. Much of opposition to it came from eastern Democratic slaveholding counties.
B. Continued state aid to railroads. In 1850s 641 miles of track were built, and by 1860 state's railroad system comprised 891 miles.
C. State support for plank roads.
1. About a dozen plank roads comprising about 500 miles of road were built at cost of $1 million.
2. For a few years they flourished but by 1860 most were worn out. They were never rebuilt.
D. Public education.
1. Creation of office of state superintendent of common schools, 1852.
2. This office was filled from 1853 to 1865 by the able and efficient Calvin H. Wiley.
a. With writings and speeches he popularized public schools.
b. Improved quality of instruction.
c. Required reports from schools.
d. Edited North Carolina Journal of Education and wrote North Carolina Reader.
E. Support and expansion of state institutions for deaf, blind, and insane.
F. Tax reform: Democrats increased taxes to finance their program of state development, and tax revenues rose from $142,000 in 1850 to $668,000 in 1860.

V. Political developments, 1850-1860.
A. Compromise of 1850, Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, and consequent union of antislavery forces in North destroyed Whig party. In North Carolina it broke up in 1854.
B. Know-Nothing party attracted some former Whigs from 1855 to 1859.
C. Democrats.
1. Toward mid-1850s, old aristocratic eastern slaveholding wing of party took control again, making Democratic party guardian of state's rights, property rights, slavocracy, and southern interests. Put Reid-Holden group on defensive.
2. Preconvention contest of 1858 between gubernatorial aspirants William W. Holden and John W. Ellis threatened unity of party. Ellis, backed by eastern aristocratic leaders, won nomination.
3. Democrats developed what might be called a "democratic-aristocratic cleavage," as Holden and many of his supporters became cool toward party's eastern aristocratic leaders.
4. In 1858 Duncan McRae--a Democrat who unlike the majority of the party favored distribution of public lands [illegible] their proceeds to states--waged unsuccessful independent campaign for governor.
5. Issue of ad valorem taxation of property including slaves came to fore in years leading up to 1860, and it too threatened Democratic unity. State's laborers,

tradesmen, and small farmers were becoming more class conscious due to tax discrimination in favor of slave property.
  a. Role of Moses Bledsoe as champion of ad valorem taxation in General Assembly.
  b. Raleigh Workingmen's Association.

VI. Election of 1860.
  A. Whig party reorganized in 1859 in effort to elect unionist leaders.
  B. In 1860 Whigs came out for ad valorem taxation and nominated John Pool for governor.
  C. Democrats renominated incumbent John W. Ellis for governor and tried to dodge ad valorem issue.
  D. Democrats won close victory aided by popular conviction that their party was only true defender of southern interests.
  E. On issue of ad valorem taxation, party roles were once again reversed. Democrats were again, as in 1835, defenders of status quo while Whigs were advocates of reform.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1835-1860

I. Agriculture.
  A. Continued to be state's chief industry. Rising crop prices and improved transportation increased farmers' production and profits.
  B. Tobacco production increased remarkably.
    1. Discovery of bright-leaf tobacco.
    2. New curing process worked out by Abisha Slade and his slave Stephen.
  C. Cotton production increased from about 35,000 bales in 1840 to over 145,000 bales in 1860.
  D. Rice, wheat, and corn production also increased.
  E. Movement in this era attempted systematically to improve farming methods and rural life.
    1. Agricultural journals such as Farmer's and Planter's Almanac.
    2. Agricultural societies including State Agricultural Society, which sponsored first state fair in 1853 in Raleigh.

II. Mining.
  A. Gold mining.
    1. Reed Gold Mine, Cabarrus County.
    2. Gold Hill, Rowan County.
    3. Christopher and August Bechtler had private mint in Rutherford County.
    4. Total capital investment in North Carolina gold was about $100,000,000, mainly from northern states and foreign countries.
    5. Total production before 1860 was probably between $50,000,000 and $65,000,000.
    6. Industry declined after 1848 due to scarcity of accessible gold and discoveries in California.
    7. For a time, however, North Carolina had been one of nation's leaders in gold-mining; and gold-mining had been state's second leading industry.
  B. There was some iron and coal mining in state and to lesser degree mining of corundum, copper, and silver.

III. Fishing: in 1860 North Carolina ranked second in South in commercial fishing.

IV. Manufacturing.
  A. Handicaps to its development.
    1. Poor transportation.
    2. Scarcity of coal and iron.
    3. Scarcity of capital and skilled labor.
    4. Attitude of distaste for manufacturing.
    5. Dispersed population.
  B. Factors encouraging its development.
    1. Abundant water power.
    2. Cheap labor.
    3. Proximity to cotton and tobacco plantations and forests.

C. After 1815 state became increasingly dependent on outside world for its manufactured goods.

D. This period also witnessed laying of foundation for industrialization of North Carolina.

1. Turpentine, state's only manufacturing industry on export basis.
2. Flour and meal.
3. Tobacco.
4. Lumber.
5. Pioneers in state's cotton industry.
    a. Edwin Michael Holt.
    b. Battle family.
    c. Francis Fries.
6. Iron manufacturing, major industry in early nineteenth century, declined after 1840.
7. Construction of railroads and plank roads.
8. Distilled and fermented liquors.

V. Growth of towns in both number and size reflected state's expanding economy.

VI. Number of banks increased by 1860 to thirty-six.

VII. Despite striking economic development before 1860, North Carolina was still relatively poor and backward, excessively rural and isolated. It made little improvement in its rank among states since most other states were experiencing equal or greater development.

INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING IN ANTEBELLUM NORTH CAROLINA, 1835-1860

I. Education.
  A. Establishment of publicly supported common schools for all white children was greatest social and intellectual achievement in antebellum North Carolina.
    1. System was disappointing in 1840s.
    2. From 1853 to 1865 Superintendent Calvin H. Wiley revolutionized it.
      a. Certification of teachers after examination.
      b. Improvement of textbooks.
      c. Better buildings and equipment.
      d. Establishment of school libraries.
      e. Beginning of graded schools.
      f. Formation of teachers' library associations.
      g. Founding of Educational Association of North Carolina.
      h. Increase in number of schools, pupils, and teachers, as well as increased funding.
    3. Still school system faced many problems.
      a. Many people were indifferent toward education or resentful toward taxes for schools.
      b. Poor buildings inadequately furnished.
      c. Teachers were often men unfit for the work.
      d. Teachers' salaries were low.
      e. School term lasted less than four months.
      f. Curriculum included only reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, and geography.
      g. Pupils of all ages studied and recited in same room under one teacher.
  B. Private schools funded by tuition payments were attended by some children.
    1. Subscription or "old field school."
    2. Private academies were best schools in state below college level.
      a. Had good buildings and equipment.
      b. Employed superior teachers at good salaries.
      c. Taught classical curriculum.
  C. Special schools.
    1. Lawyers and judges sometimes conducted private law schools.
    2. Doctors occasionally offered instruction in medicine.
    3. Military schools.
    4. Farmers' School of Elijah Graves.
    5. Manual labor schools.
  D. Development of University of North Carolina.
    1. Before 1835, largely under leadership of Pres. Joseph Caldwell, university struggled along--small, poverty stricken, uninfluential--as typical classical college.
      a. Caldwell built up library.
      b. Assembled able faculty.
      c. Broadened curriculum to include natural sciences, literature, history.

2. New era began in 1835 as David L. Swain assumed presidency.
   a. Popularized university, increased enrollment.
   b. Founded North Carolina Historical Society, 1844.
   c. Shifted stress of University of North Carolina Magazine to biographical and historical articles relating to state.
   d. Expanded curriculum to include law, modern languages, and agricultural chemistry.

E. Leading religious denominations established colleges.
   1. Wake Forest founded by Baptists, 1834.
   2. Davidson College established by Presbyterians, 1837.
   3. Trinity College (forerunner of Duke University) founded by Methodists, 1839.
   4. New Garden Boarding School (Guilford College) established by Quakers, 1833.

F. Establishment of several colleges for women occurred in this era.
   1. Greensboro Female College, 1838, and Davenport Female College, 1858, founded by Methodists.
   2. St. Mary's School at Raleigh, founded under Episcopal influence, 1842.
   3. Chowan Baptist Female College, 1838, and Oxford Female College, 1851, established by Baptists.
   4. Presbyterians began Peace Female Institute, 1857, and Floral College, 1841.

II. Journalism.
   A. Newspapers.
      1. Circulation rose from 416,000 in 1810 to almost 5,000,000 in 1860.
      2. First daily newspapers were the Raleigh Register, 1850, and the Wilmington Daily Journal, 1851.
   B. Magazines and other periodicals.
      1. University of North Carolina Magazine was state's first permanent literary magazine.
      2. Outstanding professional magazines were North Carolina Journal of Education and Medical Journal of North Carolina.
      3. Other types of periodicals included religious and temperance magazines.
      4. Almanacs, such as Gales' North Carolina Almanack.
      5. Pamphlets such as Joseph Caldwell's Numbers of Carlton and Letters on Popular Education.

III. Literature was in pioneer stage.
   A. History and biography.
      1. Several state histories, some of them multivolume.
      2. Joseph Seawell Jones defended Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.
      3. Biographies of public figures such as James Iredell and David Caldwell.
      4. Hinton Rowan Helper, author of The Impending Crisis of the South, was native of North Carolina.

B. Humor.
  1. Hamilton C. Jones, "Cousin Sally Dillard."
  2. John C. Bunting, *Life as It Is*.
  3. H. E. Taliaferro, *Fisher's River Scenes*.
  4. Johnson Jones Hooper's Simon Suggs stories.

C. Drama exemplified by works of Lemuel H. Sawyer.

D. Works of historical fiction included Calvin H. Wiley's *Alamance* and *Roanoke*.

E. Poetry.
  1. George Moses Horton, a slave.
  2. Mary Bayard Clarke's *Wood-Notes*.
  3. Sarah J. C. Whittlesey.

RELIGION IN ANTEBELLUM NORTH CAROLINA

I. Overall changes between 1800 and 1860.
  A. In 1800 only fraction of population were church activists. By 1860 Protestant denominations had successfully brought large part of common people to church membership and attendance. In fact, half of adult white population belonged to churches in 1860.
  B. In 1800 the educated upper class was indifferent or skeptical about organized religion but by 1860 had largely become active in church.

II. Protestant Episcopal church.
  A. First bishop, John Stark Ravenscroft, not appointed until 1823.
  B. Levi Silliman Ives, bishop from 1831 to 1853, created dissension due to his leaning toward Catholicism. He became a Catholic in 1853.
  C. His successor, Bishop Thomas Atkinson, sought to appeal to masses and enlarge membership. By 1860 there were over 50 congregations with more than 3,000 members.
  D. Episcopalians more influential than figures imply because members were well-to-do planters, professionals, businessmen, and public officials who lived in towns mainly in the East.
  E. It was unpopular among common people. Its influence was small west of Coastal Plain.

III. Baptists.
  A. Appealed to small farmers in rural areas for several reasons.
    1. Democratic organization.
    2. Simple services.
    3. Stress on revivals and emotions.
    4. Indifference toward educated ministry.
  B. In 1860 Baptists had more members than any other church in state--65,000 members in 780 congregations.
  C. In 1830 Separate Baptists broke away from rigidly Calvinistic Primitive Baptists to become more evangelistic and progressive. In 1860 743 of the 780 congregations were Separate Baptists.

IV. Methodists.
  A. Grew rapidly, rivaling Baptists in popular appeal. In 1860 there were 966 congregations with 61,000 members.
  B. First annual conference in North Carolina was in 1785. For awhile thereafter, church grew very slowly because its ministers criticized slavery, preached to blacks, and appealed to emotions.
  C. It soon began to catch on among common people for various reasons.
    1. Efficient organization.
    2. Aggressive, constant evangelism.

3. Use of circuit riders.
4. Shift to defense of slavery.
5. Disregard of ritual, stress on camp meetings, humanitarianism, prayer.

V. Presbyterians.
A. Third-strongest church in antebellum North Carolina.
B. Prior to 1850 it grew slowly for several reasons.
1. Cold, austere Calvinism.
2. Rigid discipline.
3. Indifference to evangelism.
4. Stress on educated ministry.
C. Rate of growth increased after 1850 due to greater emphasis on evangelism, missions, and education.
D. In 1860 it had about 15,000 members in 182 congregations.
E. Membership was mainly from gentry and middle class, tended to be from towns, and was strongest in Piedmont and Cape Fear Valley where Scottish culture was prevalent.

VI. Other denominations.
A. Quakers.
B. Lutherans.
C. German Reformed church.
D. Moravians.
E. Disciples of Christ.
F. Roman Catholics.
G. Jews.

VII. Revival spirit and camp meetings swept over state periodically from 1800 to 1860.

VIII. Churches were powerful influence on social life.
A. Promoted home and foreign missions, Bible and tract societies, movement for Sunday schools, temperance movement, education, relief for poor.
B. Some churches tried their members for various offenses.
C. Provided women with opportunity for activity.
D. Established colleges and academies.

IX. Churches were usually critical of slavery in early nineteenth century but gradually shifted to defense of it. On most social questions, churches championed prevailing local attitude.

SOCIETY IN ANTEBELLUM NORTH CAROLINA

I. Prevailing social characteristics of North Carolina as of 1860.
   A. Provincialism.
   B. Conservatism.
   C. Sectionalism--split between East and West.
   D. Intense individualism.
   E. Impatience toward orderly processes of legal and social control and cooperation.
   F. Superstition.
   G. Social stratification and heterogeneity.

II. Demographic facts about North Carolina in 1860.
   A. Population 992,622 (968,068 rural and 24,554 urban).
   B. Negroes: 331,059 slaves, 30,463 free.
   C. Indians: 1,168.
   D. White population predominantly English with large elements of Scottish and German nationalities.

III. Social classes: though there was much social mobility, there were six reasonably distinct classes in 1860.
   A. Gentry or planter elite: consisted of owners of large plantations with more than twenty slaves, highest public officials, professional men, and business leaders. About 6 percent of total white population.
   B. Middle class: small slaveholding farmers owning fewer than twenty slaves, small merchants and manufacturers, lesser public officials and professional men. Constituted 20 to 25 percent of white population.
   C. Yeomen and mechanics: were independent, small, nonslaveholding farmers, naval stores workers, miners, mechanics, tradesmen, overseers, some farm tenants. Made up 60 to 65 percent of total white population.
   D. Poor whites: included landless tenants, poor laborers. 5 to 10 percent of white population.
   E. Free blacks were almost 10 percent of black population. About 70 percent of these were mulattoes.
      1. Sources of free Negro population.
         a. Chief source was manumission, but legal restrictions made manumission difficult after 1830.
         b. Purchases of freedom by slave himself.
         c. Births by free Negro and white mothers, despite law against miscegenation.
         d. Immigration, despite law prohibiting it.
      2. Most were scattered through rural slaveholding areas although there were pockets of them in cities and towns.
      3. Increasing legal restrictions gradually curbed free blacks' freedom to move about, associate with slaves, keep arms, trade, teach, preach, vote, or engage in other activities.
      4. Special features of North Carolina's laws concerning free blacks.

   - a. Emancipated slave had to leave state within ninety days of his emancipation unless superior court made exception due to "meritorious service."
   - b. Unlike most other states, North Carolina allowed free blacks to serve in militia until 1812, after which they could serve as "musicians" only.
   - c. Free Negroes were allowed to vote in North Carolina until 1835. Only other southern state that allowed free Negro suffrage this far into antebellum period was Tennessee.
   - d. North Carolina and several other states attached severe penalties to kidnapping free Negroes. A North Carolinian was executed for this offense in 1806.
- 5. Many free blacks were skilled artisans, businessmen, and farmers, and a few rose to positions of prominence such as Baptist preacher Ralph Freeman and Presbyterian minister and teacher John Chavis.

F. Slaves made up almost one third of state's total population in 1860.

- 1. Occupations of slaves.
   - a. Most worked on farms and plantations, many of which were concentrated in staple-crop-growing areas of Piedmont and East.
   - b. In Dismal Swamp, slave gangs worked as lumberjacks.
   - c. In eastern pine belt, several thousand slaves worked in turpentine industry.
   - d. Some mined gold.
- 2. Differences in social status among plantation slaves.
   - a. Slave drivers, personal and household servants had higher status.
   - b. Vast majority were field han[illegible]
- 3. Prices of slaves increased greatly between 1800 and 1860, due to end of international slave trade in 1808 and high demand for slaves in lower South.
- 4. There was flourishing domestic slave trade between upper and lower South. Between 1830 and 1860 North Carolina exported about 100,000 slaves.
- 5. Slave code.
   - a. Functions.
      - 1) Protecting rights of owners of slaves.
      - 2) Restricting mobility and activities [illegible] slaves.
      - 3) Minimizing slave unrest by excl[illegible] [illegible] from education.
      - 4) Providing machinery for control [illegible] [illegible]encies.
   - b. Examples of provisions.
      - 1) Slaves accused of capital crimes were tried in superior courts and law required that their trials be conducted as if they were freemen. In practice, when passions of whites ran high, slaves found it difficult to get fair trials.

      2) Act making it crime to kill slave was first passed in 1774, although such a crime was not designated felony.
      3) In 1791 North Carolina designated malicious killing of slave as murder, subject to same penalty imposed on murder of freeman.
      4) In 1795 state barred entry of slaves from West Indies over fifteen years of age due to fear that such blacks were disorderly and dangerous. This move was reaction to slave revolution in Santo Domingo.
      5) In 1794 state banned hiring out of slaves as dangerous to social order.
      6) Penalty for concealing a slave "with the intent and for the purpose of enabling such slave to escape" was death.
      7) North Carolina authorized "outlawing" of "vicious" runaway slaves. Court could declare such slave subject to being shot on sight.
   c. Turning points in development of North Carolina's slave code.
      1) In aftermath of Revolution, legislature exhibited some sympathy for liberal manumission and emancipation. But tide began to turn about 1788.
         a) In 1785 lower house passed bill which would have allowed persons of conscientious scruples to manumit their slaves, but measure failed in upper house.
         b) In 1786 legislature ordered that slaves brought into state from states which had "passed laws for the liberation of slaves" be returned within three months.
         c) During next few years, several slaves were freed by private acts of assembly carrying out wishes of deceased owners.
         d) Then trend began to reverse itself. In 1788 legislature continued existing manumission procedures but pointed to dangers from blacks freed due to masters with religious scruples.
         e) In 1801 assembly cited likelihood of indigence of freed slave and required owners to post £100 bond for each slave freed.
      2) Slave code was made much more harsh and restrictive after Nat Turner Rebellion in 1831 in Virginia.
   d. In actual practice, slaves were regulated more by will of masters than by law.
6. Slave revolts and conspiracies and whites' responses.
   a. There was widespread fear of revolts following Gabriel conspiracy in Virginia in 1800. In Halifax County in 1802, one Negro was convicted

of conspiracy but was pardoned when whites decided there had been no conspiracy. They forwarded petition to governor, who granted pardon.

   b. Some Negroes in Martin County plotted revolt for June 10, 1802, but two days before whites heard rumors of it. Militia was called out and black males were placed under guard. Special committee of enquiry took over and questioned prisoners individually, obtaining confessions. Two leaders were hanged, and other conspirators were chastised and ordered home.
   c. In 1805 whites in Wayne County discovered plot to poison whites and enslave survivors. One slave woman was burned alive for poisoning her mistress, three other slaves were hanged, one transported, and one had ears cut off. Others were whipped.
   d. Turner rebellion of 1831 produced insurrection panic throughout South. In eastern North Carolina, scores of slaves were arrested and over a dozen executed.
   e. One of last antebellum slave conspiracies in South occurred near Plymouth in eastern North Carolina in October, 1860. About twenty slaves met in swamp to plan insurrection. They planned to persuade several hundred fellow slaves to join in march on Plymouth. They would kill all whites they met on road, burn town, take money and weapons, and escape by ship through Albemarle Sound. Slave betrayed plot and whites prevented its execution.

7. Miscegenation in antebellum North Carolina was fairly common.
   a. In 1789 case, law confirmed planter's leaving property to his bastard children by his Negro slave Hester and freed her and her children.
   b. In 1802 white man in Wilmington killed Negro husband of the mulatto woman with whom he had sexual relations.
8. Whites generally strongly opposed sexual relationship between white woman and Negro male.
   a. Around 1800 lynching party burned Negro rapist, and such punishment became traditional.
   b. About same time, whites castrated slave who remarked he was going to have some white women.
9. North Carolina as source for some significant evidence of white attitude toward blacks.
   a. Between end of Revolution and beginning of War of 1812, churches began splintering along racial lines in North Carolina as in other states. Trend was symptomatic of increasing separation of blacks from whites.
      1) In one community, some free Negroes established church that whites attended but which later became all white.

2) Another church had mixed congregation which split apart when whites erected separate church for blacks.

b. Dr. Hugh Williamson, member of North Carolina House of Commons and Continental Congress and signer of Constitution, was also scientist who wrote book on climate. In this book he claimed that Negroes' color and features were being altered due to climatic conditons in America. In long run he predicted that they would become white. His work illustrates how climate persistently remained explanation to whites' troublesome question of why Negroes were black.

IV. Inquiry concerning aspects of social life of the six classes.
  A. Homes and furnishings.
  B. Clothing.
  C. Diet.
  D. Work.
  E. Family life.
  F. Recreation.
  G. Arts and education.
  H. Religion.
  I. Community and political life.
  J. Customs, manners, morals, beliefs.
  K. Opportunities for social mobility.
  L. Interaction with other classes; attitudes toward other classes.

V. Crime and punishment in antebellum North Carolina.
  A. Crime was widespread and frequent; leading major offenses were murder, perjury, grand larceny, burglary, conspiracy, and maiming.
  B. Criminal code was so harsh that it discouraged indictments and convictions and increased pardons.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR

I. Development of sectional conflict in the Union.
  A. Natural conditions encouraged diversity between North and South.
    1. Colonists found that North was especially suitable for fishing and commerce.
    2. South was especially suited to farming, in particular production of tobacco, rice, and indigo, which could be profitably cultivated by slaves.
  B. Northern economic development.
    1. By 1830 manufacturing superseded commerce in importance in most of North.
    2. Protective tariff became important to North and source of resentment to South.
    3. North bought raw materials, especially cotton, from South and sold manufactured goods to South. North soon outgrew South in wealth and population. In respect to commerce, manufacturing, and credit, South became economic dependency of North.
  C. Southern economic development with spread of "Cotton Kingdom" after 1793 led to three distinct and dominant characteristics of southern life.
    1. Staple-crop production.
    2. Negro slavery.
    3. Plantation system.
  D. South soon became conscious and defensive minority in U.S. Congress.
    1. In early national period, disputes between North and South centered on federal economic legislation.
    2. Southern opposition to protective tariff culminated in crisis over nullification in 1832-1833.
    3. Most serious conflict was over slavery, which ultimately led to secession.
      a. Northwest Ordinance of 1787 applied principle of compromise and division to U.S. territory east of Mississippi River by making slavery illegal north of Mason-Dixon line and Ohio River and legal south of that line.
      b. After 1830 abolition movement focused attention on slavery issue and excited resentment, fear, and guilt in South.
      c. Territorial expansion raised issue of spread of slavery into new territories and states, and this was immediate controversy that finally led to war. There were several major national events in the conflict over this question.
        1) Missouri Compromise, 1820.
        2) Defeat of Wilmot Proviso, 1846.
        3) Compromise of 1850.
        4) Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854.
        5) "Bleeding Kansas."
        6) Dred Scott Decision, 1857.

        7) John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry, 1859.
        8) Election of Lincoln, 1860.
        9) Secession of South began, December, 1860.
        10) Conflict at Fort Sumter, April, 1861.

II. Although North Carolina aligned itself with the South in virtually all disputes between the sections, it was less extremely southern in its way of life than states of lower South.
  - A. Fewer wealthy planters with extensive plantations and many slaves in state.
  - B. More small farmers.
  - C. More opposition to slavery, both among public leaders and organizations.
    1. Editorial of 1825 in Raleigh Register, entitled "Ought Slavery to Exist?" stated that it presumed few would justify it as right in itself or would justify it on any grounds other than necessity.
    2. Pamphlet published in 1830 by Manumission Society of North Carolina condemned slavery as "radically evil" and "founded in injustice and cruelty."
    3. Judge William Gaston argued against slavery and also defended rights of free blacks, for example, objecting to their disfranchisement at Constitutional Convention of 1835. In case of State v. Will, 1834, his decision that slave could resist white man to save his own life was landmark.
    4. Eli W. Caruthers, Presbyterian minister of Greensboro, argued against notion that Negroes were suited only to slavery and defended their natural rights as human beings.
    5. Daniel R. Goodloe argued that slavery was hurting South economically and also opposed it on grounds that blacks were human beings. Among his many antislavery pamphlets was one basing his economic argument on huge amount of statistical data.
    6. Native North Carolinian Hinton Rowan Helper's The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet it, 1857, was most widely read tract against slavery ever written by southerner. But Helper despised Negroes as much as he did slavery. He believed that they were inferior and should be removed from country. In later years his attitude toward blacks was one of outright hatred.
    7. Benjamin S. Hedrick was fired from his job as professor of chemistry at UNC in 1856 for favoring Republican John C. Frémont in presidential contest.
    8. That open opposition to slavery was still possible in North Carolina even in 1850s is demonstrated by careers of Daniel Worth and Alfred Vestal, who openly expressed their ideas right down to John Brown's raid at Harpers Ferry. But soon after raid Worth was sentenced to a year in jail for circulating The Impending Crisis.

III. Political developments, 1832-1860: North Carolina, the South, and the Union.
  A. Of state's two major political parties, Democratic party took on image of more dependable defender of slavery and the South. Whigs were more friendly to Union but gradually split into two factions on slavery issue, Unionist Whigs and State's Rights Whigs.
  B. In 1832 when South Carolina adopted its ordinance of nullification, General Assembly condemned federal tariff legislation but refused to back South Carolina, expressing attachment to Union and Constitution.
  C. Parties divided on Mexican War.
    1. Whigs opposed annexation of Texas, Mexican War, and expansion, though they also opposed Wilmot Proviso.
    2. Democrats favored annexation of Texas, Mexican War, and expansion and were stronger than Whigs in denouncing Wilmot Proviso.
  D. Compromise of 1850.
    1. Most of populace was largely indifferent. Most of state's delegation to Congress favored it.
    2. Some radical Democrats denounced it as defeat for South. Thomas L. Clingman and some State's Rights Whigs joined Democrats.
  E. Kansas-Nebraska Act.
    1. Great majority of people in North Carolina favored it, especially Democrats.
    2. Whigs in Congress voted for act but feared its effect on North.
    3. Aftermath.
      a. Break up of national Whig party.
      b. Rise of antislavery Republican party.
      c. War in "Bleeding Kansas."
      d. Bitter, violent sectional debates in Congress.
  F. Presidential election of 1856.
    1. Holden, Clingman, and other radical Democrats urged secession of South if Republican John C. Frémont were elected president.
    2. Election of Buchanan eased crisis.

IV. Events of 1860-1861.
  A. In election of 1860, southern Democratic candidate John C. Breckinridge carried state by close margin over Constitutional Union candidate John Bell, who was supported by state's reorganized Whig party.
  B. Overwhelming majority of North Carolinians opposed secession in immediate aftermath of Lincoln's election. Indeed, North Carolina displayed strong Unionist sentiment from 1850s on through Civil War.
    1. Many former Whigs, including Kenneth Rayner and Zebulon B. Vance, joined Know-Nothing party in 1850s in effort to avoid slavery issue.
    2. Vance was typical of many North Carolina Unionists during secession crisis in that he fought secession until Lincoln's call for troops. After his state

seceded, he joined Confederacy rather easily.

3. Jonathan Worth carried on unyielding fight against secession even after Lincoln's call for troops. After much soul-searching, he went along when North Carolina seceded.
4. William W. Holden opposed secession and throughout war continued to work for peace and state's withdrawal from Confederacy.
5. In western counties of state there were many "mountain Unionists" who remained loyal throughout war.

C. Cause of secession gained strength in North Carolina during winter of 1860-1861.

1. Disunion was accomplished fact.
2. Clearly no compromise would be made in Congress.
3. State's Unionists were divided; secessionists were united.
4. Visiting commissioners from seceded states worked for secession.
5. Public campaign for secession featured local meetings, oratory, editorials, petitions to legislature, military preparations.
6. General Assembly passed Convention Act in January, 1861.

D. North Carolina, however, voted against convention to consider secession--47,323 to 46,672, even though some Unionists had favored convention. Of 120 delegates chosen for proposed convention, only 42 were secessionists while 28 were conditional Unionists and 50 unconditional Unionists.

E. Events still went against Unionists.

1. Compromise proposals in Congress were defeated.
2. North Carolina's commissioners to Montgomery, who hoped to encourage peaceful settlement, got no favorable response from delegates of seceded states.
3. Peace conference of February, 1861, in Washington failed and hurt image of Unionists in North Carolina.
4. Armed conflict at Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861.
5. Lincoln's call for 75,000 troops and his proclamation of blockade of southern ports.

F. Outbreak of hostilities largely unified North Carolina in favor of secession.

1. Gov. John W. Ellis, an early advocate of secession, ordered seizure of U.S. forts in state and called for 30,000 volunteers.
2. He summoned special session of legislature, which in turn called for election of delegates to meet at convention in Raleigh.

G. North Carolina seceded from Union on May 20, 1861.

1. Only point at issue was means by which state should leave Union.
   a. One ordinance, introduced by George E. Badger, based on right of revolution.

   b. The other, based on right of secession, was introduced by Burton Craige and adopted unanimously.

2. Convention also ratified Provisional Constitution of Confederate States of America.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

I. North Carolina's overall contributions to war effort.
  - A. Troops from state were in every important battle from Bethel in June, 1861, to General Johnston's surrender at Bennett House in April, 1865.
  - B. North Carolina furnished 125,000 troops for Confederate army, an amount equal to about one-sixth of all southern soldiers, although state had only one-seventh of total southern population.
  - C. Two North Carolinians served as attorney general in Confederate cabinet--Thomas Bragg, 1861-1862,and George Davis, 1864-1865.
  - D. State's greatest contribution came in 1864 when Lee was being pushed back toward Richmond by Grant. Lee depended on North Carolina for soldiers, food, supplies, and some of his best young generals.

II. Details of North Carolina's military role.
  - A. State was site of eleven battles and seventy-three skirmishes.
  - B. Strategic role was significant.
    - 1. All during war, men and supplies went through North Carolina by railroad to Lee's army.
    - 2. Sounds of state were important because they made it relatively easy to run Federal blockade and because of proximity to Lee's army.
    - 3. Near end of war, Lee got supplies through Wilmington via Wilmington and Weldon Railroad.
  - C. Four important military operations in North Carolina.
    - 1. Capture and occupation of Sound region by North.
      - a. Generals Benjamin F. Butler and Ambrose E. Burnside captured Hatteras Inlet, Roanoke Island, New Bern, Washington, Fort Macon, and Plymouth during 1861-1862.
      - b. Federal forces occupied entire Sound region and held it through much of war. They were constant threat to rest of state and Lee's army as well as source of friction between state and Confederate governments.
      - c. In 1864 Confederate General Hoke, aided by ram Albemarle, captured Plymouth and Washington and was attacking New Bern when he was called to join Lee.
      - d. In late 1864 enemy sank Albemarle and recaptured Plymouth, retaining control of eastern North Carolina until end of war.
    - 2. Port of Wilmington, defended by Fort Fisher, was South's chief center of blockade-running through most of war. In January, 1865, Federal land and naval forces captured fort and occupied Wilmington, sealing fate of Lee's army.
    - 3. Sherman's campaign in North Carolina, 1865.
      - a. He entered Fayetteville on March 11, 1865.
      - b. Battles at Southwest Creek near Kinston and at Averasboro.
      - c. Battle of Bentonville, March 20-21, 1865.
      - d. Johnston surrendered at Bennett House near Durham, April 26, 1865.
    - 4. Stoneman's Raid in the Piedmont, 1865.
  - D. The home front.
    - 1. Problems of arming and equipping soldiers.
      - a. Factories established for production of arms.
      - b. North Carolina was only state which provided clothing for its own soldiers.

2. Blockade led to severe shortages of some items and high prices. Poor transportation facilities also contributed to rising prices.
3. Relief of distress and destitution among civilians was huge problem. State appropriations and aid of local authorities and organizations eased situation.
4. Role of women on home front.
   a. Managed farms and plantations.
   b. Tended sick and wounded.
   c. Little organized activity among women.
5. Role of blacks on home front.
   a. Contemporaries testified that about 80 percent of slaves in entire South remained on their masters' plantations during war.
   b. Black labor was especially important to North Carolina's war effort, due in part to state's strategic position between battle zones in Virginia and along South Carolina coast. "Without steady black labor to build fortifications and produce the crops," according to Eugene Genovese, "Confederate North Carolina would have collapsed early in the war."
   c. There was also increased concern among whites about possibility of black insurrection, and this concern was manifested most clearly in several laws aimed at further tightening controls over blacks.

E. Blockade-running.
1. Wilmington was most important Confederate port for blockade-running.
2. Nearly a hundred blockade-runners made over four hundred trips to West Indies, returning with vital supplies, enriching owners with huge profits.
3. *Advance* exemplified state-supported blockade-running.

III. Wartime politics.

A. In aftermath of secession, unity prevailed in state and secessionists got control of state government during initial enthusiasm for war.

B. Political divisions soon arose.
1. Confederate party.
   a. Composed mainly of original secessionists such as Governor Ellis.
   b. Gave strong support to Pres. Jefferson Davis and Confederate government; willing to adopt almost any policy that would bring southern independence; favored strong centralized Confederate government and disregard of states' rights.
2. Conservative party.
   a. Composed mainly of old Whigs and Democrats who had been Unionists and included W. W. Holden, William A. Graham, John M. Morehead, and most of state's prewar leaders.
   b. Though they favored Confederate victory and southern independence, they blamed war on abolitionists and unwise policies of secessionists; they were unwilling to surrender rights of individuals to central Confederate government or military dictatorship.

C. Election of Zebulon B. Vance as governor over William J. Johnston in 1862 gave Conservatives control of state government, which they held for remainder of war. Vance won by vote of about 54,000 to 20,000.

D. Vance was popular war governor due to both his exertions on behalf of southern independence and his clashes with Confederate government.

E. Conflicts between North Carolina and Confederate government.
1. Vance charged that Davis discriminated against North Carolinians, especially Conservatives and prewar Unionists, in making major

appointments to civil and military positions.

    2. Both Vance and Gov. Henry Clark (who held office from 1861 to 1862) complained that central government's removal of both citizens and arms from state was leaving it defenseless.
    3. Controversy over Confederate Conscription Act of 1862 was bitter. Vance secured exemption of several thousand employees of state government and vital industries on grounds that they were necessary to civilian war effort.
    4. North Carolinians protested Confederate impressment of private property, especially food.
    5. Although state and local taxation also increased during war, most of the bitterness at taxes was directed toward Confederate taxes, especially the tax in kind.
    6. Controversy developed also over state government's insistence that North Carolina's resources--especially cloth and clothing--should be directed primarily to state and its soldiers and only secondarily to remainder of Confederacy.
    7. Vance objected to requirement that privately owned blockade-runners or those owned in part by states must carry half their cargoes "on Confederate account."
    8. State government officials strongly opposed suspension of writ of habeas corpus; General Assembly passed law making it mandatory for state judges to issue writ of habeas corpus thus effectively nullifying this Confederate policy in North Carolina.

IV. Manifestations of the state's war weariness.
  A. Desertion from army, civilian indifference, and noncooperation were widespread.
    1. Some 23,000 soldiers from state deserted Confederate army, but 8,000 returned to service.
    2. Reasons for desertion and noncooperation.
      a. Resentment toward Confederate conscription.
      b. Long absence of soldiers from home.
      c. Sense of futility.
    3. Still there was little outright disloyalty.
  B. Unionist and/or peace sentiment in North Carolina during war.
    1. Unionism in mountains persisted beyond secession into war.
      a. Order of the Heroes of America was secret organization of Unionists with passwords, handgrips, and rituals.
      b. In 1863 several Unionist groups in mountains engaged in guerrilla attacks on Confederate property and installations so frequently that six companies of cavalry were dispatched against them.
    2. State's leaders in Unionist and/or peace causes.
      a. William W. Holden.
        1. Had defeatist newspaper Raleigh Standard.
        2. Ran for governor as peace candidate against Vance in election of 1864 but was soundly defeated.
      b. Thomas Settle stood for peace and reunion whenever possible.
      c. State's judiciary, under leadership of Chief Justice Richmond Pearson, was strongly Unionist. In decision of 1864 Pearson held that resisting arrest for desertion was not a crime and that members of state Home Guard could not be forced to arrest deserters or conscripts unless the accused was liable for militia duty.
  C. Although Governor Vance often caustically criticized Confederate government, to end of war he urged North Carolina to be loyal to Confederacy.

V. Impact of the war.
  A. Military casualties included over 40,000 dead, many others wounded and maimed. Human cost of war at home front was also large in terms of deaths and impaired health.
  B. Economic cost of war.
    1. Amounted to millions of dollars worth of property destroyed or carried off.
    2. Abolition of slavery wiped out capital investment of $200 million.
    3. Millions in Confederate government revenues had gone into prosecution of war.
    4. Many individuals, banks, and institutions faced bankruptcy due to repudiation or depreciation of government bonds.
    5. With Confederate and state currency worthless, there was little cash and few credit facilities.
    6. Many businesses, colleges, factories, and banks had closed. Many farms were devastated.
    7. Thousands of individuals were reduced from affluence to poverty.
  C. Emancipation of slaves and destruction of plantation system was social revolution, and white North Carolinians wondered how black people would respond to their freedom.
  D. Initial developments in postwar race relations.
    1. Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery.
    2. Most whites in state were willing to give blacks more rights than they had possessed under slavery but were against allowing them the ballot, legal or social equality with whites, or schools.
    3. Meeting of black leaders in Raleigh in 1865 did not ask for ballot but demanded protection, justice, schools, and basic civil rights.
    4. Freedmen's Bureau created, 1865. During its three years of existence it was very active in North Carolina.
      a. Distributed $1.5 million worth of food and large amounts of clothing.
      b. Established hospitals, cared for over 40,000 patients.
      c. Organized 431 schools for over 20,000 pupils.

RECONSTRUCTION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1865-1877

I. Early phase.
  A. State government collapsed in early 1865 under military pressure. Gen. John M. Schofield took command of state.
  B. Moderate reconstruction plans of Lincoln and Johnson provided for quick and relatively easy restoration of southern states to Union.
  C. President Johnson's two proclamations of May 22, 1865.
    1. Amnesty Proclamation offered pardon to all southerners (with certain exceptions) who would take oath of allegiance to Constitution and promise to obey laws of Congress.
    2. Second proclamation appointed William W. Holden as provisional governor of North Carolina and ordered him to call for convention to restore state to Union.
  D. Convention of 1865: 120 duly elected delegates met in Raleigh on October 2; Judge Edwin G. Reade presided over meeting.
    1. Repealed Ordinance of Secession.
    2. Declared slavery abolished.
    3. Provided machinery for election of state government officials.
    4. Repudiation was demanded by Johnson, even though it would injure banks, colleges, and private investors.
  E. Election of 1865.
    1. Jonathan Worth opponent of repudiation, ran against Holden for governor.
    2. Worth defeated Holden, 32,000 votes to 26,000. Voters approved convention's actions.
    3. Radical Republicans of North viewed Holden's defeat as indication of North Carolina's disloyalty to Union.
  F. New General Assembly pleased Johnson.
    1. New U.S. senators--William A. Graham and John Pool--were Unionists.
    2. Ratified Thirteenth Amendment.
    3. Declared North Carolina to be loyal to Union.

II. Beginnings of Radical Reconstruction.
  A. Congress, when it met in December, 1865, refused to seat southern senators or representatives.
  B. Report by Congress's Joint Committee on Reconstruction maintained that South was neither loyal to Union nor fair to freedmen.
  C. North Carolina legislature of 1866 enacted Black Code which did not provide blacks with vote or with equal legal rights.
  D. Other factors strengthened Radicals.
    1. Reports of southern outrages against blacks and Union soldiers.
    2. Obstinacy of President Johnson.
    3. Congressional elections of 1866.
  E. North Carolina and other southern states rejected Fourteenth Amendment.
  F. Holden broke with Johnson and became leader of Radicals in state.
  G. Congress passed Reconstruction Act of 1867, which divided South into military districts and required each state to call convention to write new constitution providing for black suffrage. State could return to Union only when its voters and U.S. Congress approved constitution and when new legislators ratified

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Fourteenth Amendment.

H. North Carolina along with South Carolina comprised Military District Number Two, initially under command of Gen. Daniel Sickles and later of more radical Gen. E. R. S. Canby.

I. Republican party was formally organized in North Carolina in 1867. State's Republican party was one of two largest in South, in terms of both numbers and proportions of white Republicans.
  1. In its early years it was composed of three main elements.
    a. Several thousand native whites or "scalawags," including small farmers, strong Unionists, some old Whigs, admirers of Holden, and some people who wished to appease the North.
    b. Blacks, who were at least half the party.
    c. "Carpetbaggers," or northerners who served in Union army or came to state after war.
  2. Republican leaders.
    a. Some had been prominent political leaders before war.
      1) William W. Holden.
      2) Robert P. Dick.
      3) Thomas Settle.
      4) Richard Pearson.
      5) William Bynam.
    b. Some joined party because it offered hope for reform.
      1) Settle thought he saw chance to promote state's economic development.
      2) John Pool, Tod Caldwell, and Alfred Dockery were active on behalf of better roads and schools.

J. Most of native whites were probably Conservatives, but they were divided and disorganized, while many other whites became indifferent to politics.

K. In late 1867 voters approved constitutional convention by about 93,000 votes to 33,000.

III. The events of 1868: North Carolina returns to Union.

A. Convention of 1868 was made up of 107 Republicans and 13 Conservatives. Included among Republicans were 18 carpetbaggers and 15 blacks.

B. Despite their small numbers, carpetbaggers exerted great influence on convention. Several of them were men of experience, ability, and ambition. Perhaps most influential was Albion W. Tourgee.

C. Constitution of 1868 was modern, democratic, and well thought out. Most significant changes included the following:
  1. Abolition of slavery.
  2. Universal manhood suffrage.
  3. Elimination of all property and religious qualifications for officeholding, except prohibition of atheists.
  4. Popular election of state and county officials.
  5. Abolition of county court system and adoption of township-county commission form of local government.
  6. Provision for Board of Charities and Public Welfare.
  7. Provision for system of public schools to be open at least four months per year.
  8. Provision for establishment of Departments of Agriculture, Mechanics, Mining, and Normal Instruction at UNC.
  9. Creation of four new elective offices: lieutenant governor, auditor, superintendent of public works, superintendent of public instruction.

    10. Term of office of governor changed to four years.
    11. Capital offenses reduced to four--murder, arson, burglary, and rape.
  - D. State election of 1868.
    1. Ku Klux Klan and Union League were active in campaign.
    2. Republicans swept to victory over Conservatives.
       - a. New constitution adopted, 93,000 to 74,000 votes.
       - b. Holden elected governor over Thomas S. Ashe.
       - c. Conservatives elected only one judge, one solicitor, and one representative to Congress.
  - E. General Assembly of 1868.
    1. Ratified Fourteenth Amendment.
    2. Chose two Republicans as U.S. senators: John Pool and Joseph C. Abbott.
  - F. Congress approved new state constitution and admitted North Carolina's representatives and senators on July 20, 1868, and state was back in Union.
  - G. Presidential election of 1868 was characterized by violent partisanship.
    1. Grant carried state with about 96,000 votes to 84,000 for Seymour.
    2. Republicans won all seats but one in U.S. House of Representatives.

IV. Reconstruction politics, 1869-1877.
  - A. Republicans were extravagant and frequently corrupt in issue of bonds for railroad construction, especially Milton S. Littlefield and George W. Swepson. Led to investigations by Bragg and Shipp legislative committees.
  - B. Preservation of law and order was difficult due to several conditions.
    1. Whites resented blacks' voting, officeholding, and demands for equality with whites.
    2. Old political leaders were resentful at being replaced by Republicans and at political activity of Freedmen's Bureau.
    3. Whites disliked presence of Federal troops.
    4. Union League persuaded blacks to vote Republican and encouraged their distrust of whites, especially Conservatives.
    5. Ku Klux Klan was active from 1867 to 1870 in form of threats, whippings, and murders in efforts to combat Union League and Republicans.
    6. Legislature passed several laws in efforts to curb Klan, including Shoffner Act, which gave governor power to declare martial law in any county to protect life and property.
  - C. Kirk-Holden War, 1870.
    1. In response to outbreaks of violence apparently inspired by Klan, Holden placed Alamance and Caswell counties under martial law, and this action led to arrest of many citizens. Troops were commanded by Col. George W. Kirk.
    2. Kirk and Holden refused to honor writs of habeas corpus issued by courts.
    3. Holden had Kirk arrest Josiah Turner, Jr., editor of Raleigh Sentinel and bitter enemy of governor.
    4. Conservatives charged that Holden's goal was not preservation of order and breakup of Klan but rather winning election of 1870 through use of military power.
    5. Federal judge issued writ of habeas corpus requiring prisoners to be brought before him at forthcoming session of court.

After consulting President Grant, Holden obeyed writ and declared insurrection at end.

D. Election of 1870.
   1. Conservatives made several charges concerning Republican record.
      a. Doubling of state debt due to corrupt issuance of railroad bonds.
      b. Increased taxes due to waste and extravagance.
      c. Kirk-Holden War.
      d. Blacks voting, holding office.
      e. Presence of Federal troops.
      f. Widespread crime and violence.
      g. Poor quality of Republican judges and other officials.
   2. Klan was active in election, intimidating Republicans both white and black.
   3. Conservatives won overwhelming victory, gaining five seats in U.S. House of Representatives and large majorities in both houses of General Assembly.

E. Impeachment of Governor Holden.
   1. General Assembly of 1870-1871 convicted Holden on six charges of impeachment relating to his actions in "Kirk-Holden War" and removed him from office.
   2. He was replaced by Lt. Gov. Tod R. Caldwell.
   3. Legislative session acted on several other matters:
      a. Reduced cost of state government.
      b. Investigated charges of fraud in railroad bond issues.
      c. Repealed Shoffner Act.
      d. Declared secret political societies illegal.

F. Klan trials of 1871 and election of 1872.
   1. U.S. Congress sought to curb Klan, restore Republican strength in South, and secure better treatment for blacks through passage of several laws authorizing additional federal controls over southern states.
   2. Federal grand jury in Raleigh indicted 981 persons for alleged Klan depredations. Of these 37 were convicted. Klan gradually ceased its activities.
   3. In election of 1872 Republican candidate Caldwell was narrowly reelected governor over Conservative A.S. Merrimon, but legislature continued to be controlled by Conservatives.

G. Changes in state constitution, 1873-1875.
   1. Changes by legislative process in 1873.
      a. Abolition of Code Commission and office of superintendent of public works.
      b. Power to elect trustees of university taken from State Board of Education and given to General Assembly.
      c. Biennial sessions replaced annual sessions of legislature.
   3. General Assembly of 1875 voted to call convention. In election of delegates to convention, there were almost an equal number of Conservative and Republican votes. Delegates consisted of fifty-eight Conservatives, fifty-eight Republicans, and three independents.
   4. Convention of 1875 added thirty amendments to Constitution of 1868. Among most significant were the following:
      a. General Assembly was authorized to appoint justices of the peace and thus given virtual control over county government. This move would insure white Conservative dominance.
      b. Secret political societies declared illegal.

        c. White and black schools were to be kept separate.
        d. Marriages between whites and blacks made illegal.
        e. Residence requirements for voting raised.
        f. Number of supreme court judges reduced from five to three and superior court judges from twelve to nine.
  H. Election of 1876: "Battle of the Giants."
    1. Issues of Radical Reconstruction, black domination, and white supremacy placed Republicans on defensive. They nominated Thomas Settle for governor.
    2. Conservatives, cooperating with national Democratic party, adopted name "Democrats" and nominated Zebulon Vance for governor.
    3. Vance defeated Settle with 118,000 votes to 104,000. Democrats also won in voting for legislators, congressmen, and president. "Redemption" had been achieved.
  I. President Hayes withdrew last Federal troops from South in 1877, and Reconstruction was over throughout region.

V. Inquiry concerning long-term impact of Civil War-Reconstruction period on state.
  A. Changes in North Carolina's social structure.
  B. Effects on politics, especially:
    1. On attitudes of blacks and whites on race question.
    2. On party system.
  C. Other effects.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1870-1900

I. Aftermath of war.
A. In immediate aftermath of war, several North Carolina newspapers called for development of diversified agriculture, manufacturing, and railroads as means to overcome military defeat and achieve economic independence.
B. Until end of Reconstruction there was little evidence that their advice had been heeded. In fact, Reconstruction may have discouraged and delayed industrialization.
C. Most people returned to staple crop agriculture for several reasons.
1. Scarcity of capital.
2. Habit and custom.
3. Inexperience with industry.

II. Industrial recovery and beginning of expansion, 1865-1880.
A. By 1870 North Carolina industry had regained its prewar level. Leading types of enterprise were cotton mills, tobacco factories, and factories making turpentine and other naval stores.
B. Decade of 1870s witnessed transition and expansion of industry and the real coming of Industrial Revolution to state.
1. Cotton mills became more numerous, larger, and, benefiting from prewar experience of mill owners and managers, nearly doubled output between 1870 and 1880.
2. Tobacco industry expanded even more rapidly.
a. R. J. Reynolds established factory in Winston, 1874.
b. Washington Duke and Sons set up factory in Durham, 1874.
c. By 1880 North Carolina had 126 tobacco factories, and its tobacco was in national market and entering export trade.

III. Industrialization from 1880 to 1900.
A. "New South creed" put great stress on need to industrialize. Many newspapers, magazines, organizations, and public figures voiced pleas for more industry.
1. Raleigh News and Observer.
2. Watauga Club of Raleigh.
3. "Mummy Letters" of Walter Hines Page.
4. "Cotton mill campaign" in Piedmont.
B. Census figures on manufactures, 1880 and 1900.
1. Invested capital in industry increased from $13 million in 1880 to $76.5 million in 1900.
2. Value of manufactured products grew from $20 million in 1880 to $95 million in 1900.
3. Number of workers in industry increased from 18,000 in 1800 to 70,500 in 1900.
4. Growth of industry was national phenomenon in this era. Rate of increase in manufactures in North Carolina was less than that of the nation from 1865 to 1900 and only slightly above national average from 1880 to 1900.
C. Cotton textile industry, 1880-1900.
1. Despite tremendous growth, it still lagged behind cotton textile industries of Massachusetts and South Carolina.
2. Concentrated in Piedmont region.
3. Products improved in quality and increased in variety.

4. Based mainly on local leadership, capital, and labor.
5. During 1890s considerable northern capital was invested in state's cotton mills.
6. In 1895 Caesar and Moses Cone opened textile mills in Greensboro area.
7. Daniel A. Tompkins promoted his mill as patriotic, cooperative enterprise as well as profit-making concern.
8. Labor in textile mills.
    a. Townspeople and small farmers from nearby depressed areas dominated labor force.
    b. Family groups were often employed. In 1900 42 percent of workers were men, 34 percent women, and 24 percent children.
    c. Annual wages in 1900 averaged $216 for men, $157 for women, $103 for children.
    d. Workers often lived in cheap company-owned housing.
9. Use of steam power as substitute for waterpower increased between 1880 and 1900.
10. In 1898 Fries Manufacturing and Power Company installed hydroelectric plant on Yadkin River--first in state.

D. Tobacco industry.
    1. James Buchanan ("Buck") Duke.
        a. In 1882 the Dukes began to manufacture cigarettes.
        b. J. B. Duke won supremacy in cigarette field, first in state and then in nation, due to several factors.
            1) Mechanizing industry through introduction of Bonsack cigarette-rolling machines and other inventions.
            2) Effective advertising.
            3) Rigid economy in both production and distribution.
            4) Efficient, sometimes ruthless business methods.
        c. Era of overproduction and intense competition ended in 1890 with Duke's establishing American Tobacco Company.
        d. By 1904 Duke interests controlled three fourths of tobacco industry in U.S. and exerted virtual control of world tobacco trade.
    2. Other tobacco pioneers.
        a. In Winston--Hamilton Scales and R. J. Reynolds.
        b. In Durham--J. R. Green, W. T. Blackwell, Julian S. Carr, and John R. Day formed partnership which produced "Bull Durham Smoking Tobacco."

E. Furniture industry.
    1. Industry began in form of small shops with little capital, producing for local markets. It grew because of increasing demand, cheap labor, and proximity to raw materials.
    2. High Point Furniture Company, specializing in wooden beds and sideboards, was first furniture factory in state, established 1888.
    3. By 1890 there were six factories producing furniture valued at $159,000.
    4. By 1900 there were 44 factories employing over 2,000 workers producing furniture valued at $1.5 million.
    5. Center of industry was Piedmont, especially High Point.
    6. Capital was almost entirely local.
    7. Used cheap primarily adult male labor from towns and farms.

IV. Other developments related to industrialization.
    A. Rapid growth of cities and towns.

1. In 1880 urban population was 55,000 and rural 1,345,000.
2. In 1900 urban population was 187,000 and rural 1,707,000.

B. Development of state's educational and cultural resources lagged far behind that of its economic resources.

C. State's industrial interests became attached to state's Democratic party, which became party of staunch conservatism and guardian of industrialists' special interests.

D. Labor.

1. Grievances of new industrial working class.
   a. Low wages.
   b. Child labor.
   c. Long hours.
   d. Separation from rest of population.
   e. Exploitation by "company stores."
   f. Identity of employer and landlord.
2. Several factors discouraged unions.
   a. Opposition of employers.
   b. Ignorance of workers, persistence of individualistic outlook.
   c. Laborers' sense of dependence on employers for home and job.
3. Knights of Labor organized their first North Carolina assembly in Raleigh in 1884. Similar assemblies expanded into most other counties of state, but Knights made little progress toward effective unionization.
4. American Federation of Labor made its first effort to organize North Carolina textile workers in 1898, but it made little headway.
5. General public as well as manufacturers were hostile to union idea and to government regulation of industry.
6. In General Assembly, although bills for regulation of work hours of women and children were introduced frequently from 1887 on, manufacturers defeated every important piece of labor legislation before 1900.
7. Two pieces of labor legislation which did pass were the State Bureau of Labor Statistics, set up in 1887, and the Mining Act of 1897.

E. Transportation.

1. Railroads.
   a. Between 1865 and 1880 only 600 miles of railroads were constructed in North Carolina.
   b. After 1870 Democrats abandoned policy of state aid to railroads, and private companies moved in to develop state's rail transportation.
   c. By 1900, after two decades of extensive construction and consolidation, three major systems of railroads had emerged in state. In that year there were 3,831 miles of track in North Carolina, controlled by capital chiefly from outside state.
      1) Southern Railway Company dominated Piedmont and West.
      2) Atlantic Coast Line dominated Coastal Plain.
      3) Seaboard Air Line Railway dominated region between them.
2. Highways.
   a. There was little effort to improve roads, which were rough and dusty in dry weather, impassable in wet.
   b. "Labor tax" of about six days per year from able-bodied adult males was still in effect. Local authorities were in charge of keeping up roads. Materials and tools were

inadequate, which along with the indifferent, unskilled labor force and poor supervision, added up to a system which accomplished little.

   c. Some towns improved streets and sidewalks.
   d. In 1889 first electric street railway began to operate in Asheville.

F. Communication.
   1. State's first telephone exchanges were set up in 1879. By 1898 there were thirteen exchanges and seventeen telephone companies doing business in North Carolina.
   2. In 1896 first rural free delivery postal route was established in Rowan County.
   3. Circulation of newspapers and magazines increased.
   4. In 1879 there were 279 newspapers and magazines being published in North Carolina.

V. Inquiry concerning overall impact of industrialization on North Carolina society in such areas as the following:
   A. Family patterns.
   B. Social and religious norms.
   C. Attitudes toward race and class.

AGRICULTURE IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1865-1900

I. Postwar recovery: although agriculture soon recovered to prewar levels, there were several handicaps which had to be overcome.
  A. Destruction of farms, loss of livestock.
  B. Lack of capital and credit.
  C. Inadequate and expensive transportation.
  D. Temporary federal tax on cotton.
  E. Revolution in labor system wrought by emancipation of slaves.

II. Trends in North Carolina agriculture, 1865-1900.
  A. Great increase in total production of farm crops.
  B. Marked increase of specialization in cotton and tobacco.
  C. Rise in farm tenancy.
    1. Statistics.
      a. Number of farms increased from 75,000 in 1860 to 225,000 in 1900, while for same period average acreage per farm decreased from 316 to 101.
      b. From 1880 to 1900 number of tenants increased from 53,000 to 93,000. Percentage of farms operated by tenants increased from 33.5 to 41.4.
      c. Ratio of sharecroppers to cash tenants dropped from 5:1 in 1880 to 3.5:1 in 1900.
      d. Tenancy was closely associated with cotton and tobacco regions and with areas of richest and highest-priced land.
    2. Advantages of tenancy were few.
      a. Provided labor and means of making living for large class of landless, moneyless, unskilled people.
      b. Allowed farming to continue without much operating capital.
    3. Disadvantages were great.
      a. Tended to decrease size of farms.
      b. Tended to decrease efficiency.
      c. Depleted soil fertility.
      d. Discouraged use of machinery.
      e. Perpetuated system of money crops and crop liens.
      f. Discouraged rise in standard of living.
      g. Hindered growth of rural organization and cooperative enterprise.
      h. Hampered overall cultural development.
    4. Despite magnitude of problem, political leaders virtually ignored it until after 1900.
  D. Other problems of North Carolina farmers.
    1. Declining prices, overproduction.
    2. High transportation costs.
    3. Prices of essential items farmer purchased remained stable or increased.
    4. Farmers were heavily taxed under antiquated, discriminatory system based primarily on land.
    5. Exorbitant credit costs.
    6. Crop lien system.
    7. Deflation of currency.
    8. Declining social prestige and self-confidence.

E. Problems added up to depression in late 1860s and early 1870s which became even more serious in 1880s and 1890s.

III. Farmers' response to their plight.

A. Criticism of "money power."

1. Farmers vented wrath on tariff, corporations, trusts, railroads, banks, middlemen, and Wall Street.
2. Role of The Progressive Farmer as organ of protest.

B. Farmers' organizations.

1. Grange organized in North Carolina in 1873 but largely died out by mid-1880s.
2. Farmers' Alliance began in state in 1887 under leadership of Col. Leonidas L. Polk and by 1890 had over 90,000 members.

C. Farmers' demands.

1. On federal government:
    a. Tariff reduction.
    b. Regulation of railroads and trusts.
    c. Expansion of currency, especially through "free and unlimited coinage of silver" at ratio of 16:1 with gold.
2. On state government:
    a. Tax reform.
    b. Legal limitation on interest rates.
    c. Railroad regulation.
    d. Educational reform.
3. Farmers found national government unresponsive to their demands. North Carolina farmers found state's Democrats either indifferent or hostile to their program.

EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1860-1900: SLOW RECOVERY AFTER THE WAR

I. Wartime developments.
  A. Most colleges and academies closed.
  B. System of academies continued to operate but only in skeletal form.
  C. State Superintendent of Common Schools Calvin Wiley resisted movement to use Literary Fund for war purposes.
  D. UNC remained open even though its enrollment and activities suffered great decline.

II. Aftermath of war.
  A. Several colleges reopened in 1866.
  B. Many academies resumed operations, but some had to close down again due to poverty.
  C. UNC, 1865-1875.
    1. Constitution of 1868 merged university with public school system.
    2. New president as of 1868 was Solomon S. Pool.
    3. University closed in 1870 due to lack of public confidence, funds, and students.
    4. Constitutional amendment of 1873 restored government of university to board of trustees chosen by legislature.
    5. New board of trustees, aided by Mrs. Cornelia Phillips Spencer, reopened university in 1875 under Pres. Kemp P. Battle.
  D. State system of common schools collapsed early in Reconstruction for several reasons.
    1. Loss of most of Literary Fund due to repudiation of state war debt and sale of its bank and railroad stock at depreciated prices.
    2. From 1865 to 1868 Conservatives refused to appropriate funds to schools and gave towns and counties responsibility for public education.
    3. Most local governments failed to fund schools due to poverty, public apathy, and public aversion to taxes.

III. Republicans and education, 1868-1870.
  A. Constitution of 1868.
    1. Set up superintendent of public instruction as elective office.
    2. Required legislature to provide general and uniform system of free public schools for all children between ages of six and twenty-one.
    3. Board of Education would have power to make rules for school system and manage educational fund.
    4. Schools would be financed by remains of Literary Fund, proceeds from sale of swamp lands and estrays and from fines and penalties, legislative appropriations, and proceeds from state and county poll taxes.
  B. Public School Law of 1869.
    1. Provided for separate schools for whites and blacks.
    2. Required a four-month school term for all children.
    3. Provided for levy, if necessary, by county commissioners of township tax to finance a four-month school term.
    4. Legislature of 1869 also appropriated $100,000 for schools.

C. Viable school system was not established for several reasons.

1. Lack of public confidence in school officials.

a. Superintendent S. S. Ashley was carpetbagger and advocate of racially mixed schools.

b. His assistant, J. W. Hood, was black carpetbagger.

2. State's resources were limited, and legislative appropriations for schools were severely cut after 1869. Even the appropriation of 1869 was not immediately available.

3. School buildings were few and run down.

4. Many townships failed to provide schools in accordance with law.

D. In 1870 there were about 1,400 schools operating at cost of $43,000 with 50,000 pupils or about one sixth of total number school-age children.

IV. Higher education, 1877-1892.

A. State university struggled along with inadequate financing, small enrollment, lethargic staff.

B. State Agricultural and Mechanical College established in 1887 with aid of funds from Morrill Act.

C. State established four additional colleges during 1877-1891.

1. Fayetteville Colored Normal School was first teacher-training school for blacks in South.

2. State Normal and Industrial School for white girls.

3. North Carolina Agricultural and Mechanical College for the Colored Race.

4. Elizabeth City Colored Normal School.

D. Trinity College, with support from Julian S. Carr and Washington Duke, moved to Durham in 1892.

V. Secondary education, 1870-1900.

A. Private academies slowly revived, expanded, and came to bear greater part of burden of secondary education.

B. Some city graded public schools were established.

C. Public education made little progress under conservative Democratic leadership of state government from 1870 to mid-1890s.

1. State tax for public schools rose from 6 2/3 cents on each $100 valuation of property and 20 cents on each poll in 1871 to 15 cents for property and 45 cents for polls in 1891. Still, funding remained inadequate.

2. In 1875 constitution was amended to provide explicitly for separate schools for whites and blacks.

3. Teacher-training program was begun with normal schools and, after 1889, teachers' institutes.

4. By 1877 legislature had gradually worked around to position of requiring by law that county commissioners levy special school taxes, if necessary, to provide a four-month school term.

5. In 1872 public schools cost $155,000, enrolling about 20 percent of children for a few weeks. In 1900 they cost $950,000 providing school term of about 70 days with enrollment of 58 percent.

6. In 1900 school system was worse than it had been in 1860 and perhaps the worst in the U.S. North Carolina had failed dismally to institute educational requirements of its own constitution and laws.

D. Reasons for state's educational backwardness.
   1. Poverty due to war and low income.
   2. Scattered population.
   3. Bad roads.
   4. Large school population relative to number of taxpayers.
   5. Maintenance of dual, segregated system.
   6. Basic reasons.
      a. Colossal public indifference to education.
      b. Reactionary political leadership.
         1) Governors and legislature failed to press for improved education.
         2) State supreme court decisions, *Lane* v. *Stanly*, 1870, and *Barksdale* v. *Commissioners*, 1885, discouraged educational progress, making it impossible to finance constitutional four-month term.

E. Impact of outside forces on state's educational system.
   1. Freedmen's Bureau established over 400 schools during its existence.
   2. George Peabody Fund granted money to some schools during 1860s and 1870s.

F. Despite state's educational backwardness, some leaders were agitating for improved schools. Their efforts would help convince populace of necessity for educational reform.
   1. Charles D. McIver and Edwin A. Alderman held teachers' institutes in every county.
   2. Walter Hines Page and *The State Chronicle*.
   3. Farm leaders L. L. Polk and Marion Butler.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1877-1894: CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS IN CONTROL

I. Democrats maintained uninterrupted control of state government from 1877 to 1894, as state's white majority subordinated every issue to maintenance of white supremacy.

II. Significance of impairment of local self-government.
  A. Democrats abolished choice of county commissioners by popular vote and vested their election in justices of the peace, who were appointed by General Assembly.
  B. Since legislature was always Democratic, new system insured control of county governments by Democrats. County governments generally fell under control of "courthouse rings" composed of local Democratic leaders.

III. Debt settlement law of 1879.
  A. Special tax railroad bonds of 1868-1869 were repudiated completely.
  B. Of remainder of debt, all accrued interest was repudiated, and principal was classified into three groups, each scaled from 60 percent to 85 percent.
  C. Net result was that state decided to pay $6.5 million of entire state debt of $43.75 million.

IV. Conservative control of Democratic party.
  A. Democrats stimulated railroad, industrial, mercantile, and banking development by allowing unrestricted private enterprise protected and aided by state government.
  B. Democratic politicians formed alliance with business interests. They held railroad stock, rode on free passes, and enjoyed other benefits in return for aiding railroads to secure special legislative favors.
  C. Democrats opposed demands for changes on grounds that they would necessitate higher taxes, discourage business, split the party, and bring back Negro-Republican rule. Yet demands for reform grew.
    1. Demands for regulatory railroad commission, lower freight and passenger rates, abolition of favoritism.
    2. Demands for adjustment of discriminatory system of taxation.
    3. Demands for social legislation to correct evils of long hours and low wages of mill workers.
    4. Demands for expansion of public education.
  D. Undesirable features of conservative Democratic control.
    1. Impairment of self-government in counties.
    2. Open threats, violence against black voters.
    3. Ballot-box stuffing, fraudulent counting of votes.
    4. Small groups of leaders held control of state government.
    5. Party loyalty was valued above all else, and public officials soon came to be conservative, mediocre, barren of statesmanship, and reluctant to lead.

V. Opposition to conservative Democrats.
  A. Republicans.
    1. Party drew bulk of its support from blacks and substantial group of whites from among common people. It furnished steady opposition to Democrats, consistently drawing over 40 percent of vote in statewide elections; but it was never formidable enough to take power.

2. Handicaps of Republicans.
    a. Few able and prominent leaders.
    b. Poor party press.
    c. Past record during Reconstruction.
    d. Whites' resentment of Negro contingent.
    e. Party was unable to bring out total black vote due to blacks' indifference and white intimidation.
    f. Party failed to formulate effective program.
3. Republicans soon became resigned to state defeat, content to monopolize federal patronage jobs since national party was often in power in Washington.

B. Liberal Democrats, 1881-1884.
1. Democratic legislature of 1881, under pressure from churches, authorized referendum on manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor.
2. Some Democrats bolted party in 1882 to join with anti-prohibitionists to organize Liberal Anti-Prohibition Party, which was endorsed by Republicans.
3. Platform.
    a. Opposition to prohibition.
    b. Restoration of local self-government.
    c. Extension of public education.
    d. Pure, untampered ballot box.
4. In election of 1882 new party elected only one legislator and one congressman--Tyre York. Prohibition was soundly defeated.
5. Democrats were not saddled with prohibition. In 1884 York attempted to gain governorship through assembling coalition of Republicans and Democrats. But Democrats' appeal for party loyalty and unity as safeguard against return of Negro-Republican rule was effective.

C. Small farmers.
1. Farmers suffered from low crop prices, high freight rates, discriminatory [illegible], high and restricted credit, inadequate currency, and [illegible] costs.
2. They became disgruntled at conservative Democrats who gave business special privileges and ignored grievances of farmers and laborers.
3. Granger movement of 1870s started farmers thinking in terms of organization.
4. Farmers' Alliance.
    a. In 1887 North Carolina Farmers' Association organized in Raleigh under leadership of L. L. Polk, editor of The Progressive Farmer.
    b. Many North Carolina farmers' clubs soon joined Farmers' Alliance, and by 1890 state had 2,147 local organizations and about 90,000 members.
    c. Polk became significant figure in national organization, was elected president of national Farmers' Alliance in 1889.
    d. Alliance performed several functions for state's farmers.
        1) Promoted agricultural college and more powerful State Department of Agriculture.
        2) Sought to educate farmers in better methods of producing and marketing crops.
        3) Organized some local cooperative stores and state purchasing agency to eliminate middlemen.
    e. Alliance, however, did not solve farm problem. Most cooperatives failed, for instance, due to poor management, crop-lien

system, hostility of merchants and manufacturers.

VI. Agrarian revolt of 1890.
- A. Background: demands of farmers.
  - 1. Railroad regulation.
  - 2. Limitation on interest rates.
  - 3. Better public schools.
  - 4. Higher crop prices.
  - 5. Expansion of currency.
  - 6. Agricultural college and inexpensive state-supported college for girls.
- B. In 1888, under pressure from farmers, Democrats officially endorsed legislation providing for commission to regulate railroads, but Democratic legislature of 1889 defeated railroad commission bill.
- C. In elections of 1890 Alliance elected many farmers to General Assembly and captured control of Democratic party.
- D. "Farmers' legislature" of 1891.
  - 1. Increased tax rate for public schools.
  - 2. Established normal college for white girls.
  - 3. Established agricultural college and normal college for blacks.
  - 4. Increased state appropriations for university and state colleges.
  - 5. Railroad regulation.
    - a. Outlawed rebates and rate discrimination.
    - b. Set up railroad commission of three members elected by legislature and given power to reduce rates and eliminate special tax exemptions and law assessments given to railroads.
- E. Farmers' plight still grew worse in early 1890s, and Farmers' Alliance proposed national program.
  - 1. Stressed subtreasury plan.
  - 2. Stressed free and unlimited coinage of silver in ratio of sixteen to one.

VII. Election of 1892.
- A. Both national Democrats and Republicans were hostile to farmers' program. Most North Carolina Democrats were hostile.
- B. Strong faction of Alliance organized People's or Populist party for elections of 1892.
- C. North Carolina Alliance split.
  - 1. More radical half followed Polk in support of Populists.
  - 2. Conservative members followed Elias Carr and S. B. Alexander in support of Democrats.
  - 3. Polk would probably have been Populist presidential candidate if he had not died. Marion Butler succeeded him as leader of state's Populists.
- D. Campaign of 1892.
  - 1. Populists nominated W. P. Exum for governor.
  - 2. Populist platform.
    - a. Economy in government.
    - b. Tax reform.
    - c. Election reform.
    - d. Ten-hour work day for labor.
    - e. Limit of 6 percent on interest charges.
  - 3. Democrats nominated Elias Carr for governor and ran on status quo platform. Campaign was managed skillfully by F. M. Simmons.
  - 4. Democrats appealed to party loyalty and fear of Negro-

Republican rule and relied on control of election machinery.

5. Republicans nominated D. M. Furches for governor on platform calling for new election laws and return of county self-government.
6. Populists' handicaps.
    - a. Polk's death.
    - b. Weak candidates.
    - c. Partisan election laws.

E. Democrats were victorious with about 136,000 votes to 95,000 for Republicans and 48,000 for Populists. Democratic victory of 1892 was thus based on minority of total vote.

VIII. Elections of 1894.

A. Democrats refused to conciliate Populists.
1. They ridiculed them, ostracized them politically.
2. Legislature refused to enact any significant agrarian reform.
3. It attacked the Alliance by making changes in its charter.

B. Depression following panic of 1893 increased farmers' grievances.

C. Populists and Republicans entered into "fusion" in 1894.

D. Their platform.
1. Four-month school term.
2. State reformatory.
3. Reform of election laws.
4. Nonpartisan judiciary.
5. Restoration of county self-government.
6. End to corruption and subservience of government to business.

E. Democrats offered no reform program.

F. Populist-Republican fusion was successful.
1. Populists and Republicans each elected three members of national House of Representatives.
2. In General Assembly "fusionists" had majorities over Democrats, 42 to 8 in Senate and 74 to 46 in House.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1894-1900: FUSION RULE AND THE RETURN OF THE DEMOCRATS TO POWER

I. "Fusion legislature" of 1895.
  A. Local self-government was restored to counties.
    1. Legislature gave voters power to elect justices of the peace and to choose biennially three county commissioners.
    2. As impediment to Negro rule in East, 200 voters in any county could petition for appointment by superior court judge of two additional county commissioners of different political party from the three elected by the people.
  B. New election law required:
    1. New registration of voters.
    2. Appointment of local election officials made by elective clerks of court representing each party.
    3. Preservation of ballots.
    4. Itemized account of campaign expenditures of candidates for office.
  C. Farmers' Alliance charter restored to old status.
  D. Legal interest rate fixed at 6 percent.
  E. Increased appropriations for state university and other state-supported colleges and normal schools.
  F. State property tax for public schools was increased.
  G. Offices of county superintendent and county boards of education were abolished. Control of local schools was vested in board of county commissioners.
  H. Some eastern town charters were altered to permit increased local self-government.
  I. Populist Marion Butler and Republican Jeter C. Pritchard were elected U.S. senators.
  J. Government expenditures and taxes were increased to moderate degree.
  K. Distribution of patronage led to some quarreling between Populists and Republicans.

II. Role of Negroes in fusion rule.
  A. Blacks' participation in politics increased.
    1. More blacks could vote under new election law.
    2. Negroes were occasionally elected to minor offices in eastern counties.
    3. General Assembly elected some blacks to minor positions.
    4. Legislature passed resolution in honor of Frederick Douglass on occasion of his death.
  B. Democrats once again began to agitate issue of Negro in politics
  C. Black participation in government--both during Reconstruction and in 1890s--was never substantial.
    1. Blacks never made up more than one fifth of General Assembly.
    2. Four North Carolina blacks served total of fourteen years in national House of Representatives.
      a. J. A. Hyman, 1875-1877.
      b. J. E. O'Hara, 1883-1887.
      c. H. P. Cheatham, 1889-1893.
      d. G. H. White, 1897-1901.

III. Campaign of 1896 was one of great bitterness and confusion in both state and national politics.
A. Both North Carolina Democrats and Republicans attempted to form alliance with Populists.
1. On national issues state's Democrats were in close accord with Populists.
2. On state issues Tar Heel Republicans and Populists were close to agreement.
B. Each party made separate nominations for state offices, including governor.
1. Cyrus B. Watson--Democrat.
2. Daniel L. Russell--Republican.
3. William A. Guthrie--Populist.
C. In September a complex fusion arrangement was worked out.
1. Democrats and Populists fused to support presidential candidate William Jennings Bryan.
2. Republicans and Populists fused in support of divided ticket of nominees for state, legislative, and congressional offices. Each party, however, kept its own nominees for highest state offices.
D. Results.
1. Bryan carried state by 20,000 votes.
2. Fusion scored victory [illegible] state, legislative, and congressional offices.
3. Russell won governorship with 154,000 votes to 145,000 for Watson, and 31,000 for Guthrie.
4. Increased black vote was major factor in Russell's victory.
E. Significance.
1. Elections of 1894 and 1896 in North Carolina were the most successful electoral efforts by southern Populists. Their success, however, was dependent on Republican help.
2. Victory by fusionists was only second example in South since Reconstruction of successful political alternative to Democratic party.

IV. Administration of Governor Russell.
A. Public education.
1. Constructive leadership of Superintendent of Public Instruction Charles H. Mebane.
2. Office of county superintendent of schools restored.
3. Every school district was required to vote on school taxes and to vote every two years until taxes were approved.
4. Legislative appropriation of $50,000 was made for schools in those districts which voted for school taxes.
B. Powers of railroad commission were enlarged.
C. County government was vested in three commissioners elected by voters of each county.
D. Fusionists began to break into factions on some questions.
1. Reelection of Republican Jeter C. Pritchard to U.S. Senate.
2. Governor Russell's attack on Southern Railway.
a. Russell challenged J. P. Morgan's Southern Railway and its right to rent state-owned North Carolina Railroad for ninety-nine years.
b. He aligned agrarian Populists with "progressive" Republicans and Democrats to wage aggressive but

unsuccessful war against lease in legislature and courts. Struggle lasted more than a year.

c. After it became clear that he had lost first round of fight, Russell gambled that he, Marion Butler of Populists, and Democrats such as Walter Clark and Josephus Daniels, could forge coalition of reformers in 1898 and win control of General Assembly of 1899.

d. During course of long struggle, Russell had lost some supporters and white supremacy campaign of 1898 ended his scheme.

E. Increased black voting and office-holding discredited fusion rule among many whites of state. Democrats again began to talk of "Negro domination" and of certain eastern counties being "Negroized."

V. North Carolina's role in Spanish American War, 1898.

A. Several North Carolinians in standing armed forces became heroes.

1. Ensign Worth Bagley of Raleigh was first naval officer killed in conflict. His funeral was held at State Capitol.

2. Another naval officer, Edwin A. Anderson of Wilmington, was cited for heroism for his role in night operations at Cuanbeno Bay and for cutting ocean cables while exposed to enemy fire.

3. Lt. William E. Shipp of Lincolnton was killed while leading charge up San Juan Hill.

4. Others.

B. Efforts of Tar Heel volunteers were less successful.

1. State called on militia to volunteer for service. Piedmont and West responded enthusiastically; most eastern counties refused to send their companies.

2. Three regiments eventually raised.

a. First Regiment never saw action in Cuba but did four months occupation duty following cessation of hostilities.

b. Second Regiment was mustered out of service due to incompetence after only few weeks of guard and garrison duty.

c. Third Regiment, composed entirely of blacks, was most unique.

1) North Carolina was one of only three states in Union with an all-black regiment.

2) Appointment of Shaw University graduate James H. Young as regimental leader was viewed by many as attempt by Governor Russell to gain Negro vote.

3) Regiment, stationed respectively in North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia, continually faced harassment from other soldiers and civilians. While assigned to Camp Haskell, near Macon, Georgia, four members were killed by whites who claimed justifiable homicide and were easily acquitted.

4) Returned home in 1899 to face equally hostile and prejudiced populace.

VI. "White supremacy" campaign of 1898.

A. "Red Shirts" revived some methods of Ku Klux Klan to deter blacks from voting.

B. F. M. Simmons ran campaign for Democrats, who engaged in unprecedented degree of organization, correspondence, publicity, and stump speaking--all the while stressing issue of white supremacy.

C. New group of young, aggressive Democratic leaders emerged along with Simmons.

1. Examples:
   a. Charles B. Aycock.
   b. Cameron Morrison.
   c. Locke Craig.
   d. Claude and William Walton Kitchin.
   e. Robert B. Glenn.
2. They rejected conservative leadership of older generation and were relatively progressive in outlook. There were several elements in new order they envisioned.
   a. Elimination of blacks from politics.
   b. Government regulation of corporations.
   c. Improved public education.
   d. More activist state government.

D. Republicans and Populists were on defensive. They warned that Democratic victory would lead to educational test for voting. Democrats denied charge.

E. Business interests also seemed to have been important factor in election.
   1. Democrats probably received large contributions from corporations in return for promise not to increase corporate taxes in legislative session of 1899.
   2. Marion Butler and some other political leaders believed that business interests, especially the railroads, used the white supremacy issue to capture the legislature of 1899.

F. Role of denominational leaders may have been significant, for Simmons may have promised them not to increase legislative appropriations to state institutions of higher learning during the 1899 session.

G. Results.
   1. Democrats were elected to 134 seats of legislature, Republicans to 30, Populists to 6.
   2. Democrats won 5 seats in national House of Representatives, Republicans 3, Populists 1.
   3. Many blacks did not vote, in part due to intimidation.

VII. Background to campaign of 1900.

A. Wilmington race riot of November, 1898, was revolution in literal sense of term.
   1. Organizer and leader was Alfred M. Waddell, a fervently anti-Negro Democrat.
   2. In 1890s Wilmington had substantial black middle class, including several lawyers, educators, public officials, especially federal customs collectors, and even black newspapers.
   3. "Declaration of White Independence" called for closing of Alex Manly's Daily Record, a black newspaper, and banishment of its editor.
   4. Since black community did not encourage Manly's departure, 400 whites demolished his office and burned it.
   5. Many black and white Republicans forced to flee city.
   6. Armed whites roamed streets, insisting on complete control of city.
   7. When quiet was restored toward evening, between eleven and thirty blacks were dead. No whites were killed, only three were wounded. No whites were arrested.

8. Vigilantes ordered aldermen to resign. As each did so, his successor was chosen by city council from list of names provided by vigilantes. Waddell became mayor.

B. Actions of General Assembly of 1899.

1. Repealed school law of 1869 but appropriated $100,000 for public schools.

2. Reasserted legislative control over county government.

3. Made commissioner of agriculture elective office.

4. Replaced railroad commission with corporation commission of three members to supervise railroads, banks, telephones, telegraphs, street railways, and express companies.

5. New election law provided for new registration of voters and election by legislature of State Board of Elections to choose county election boards.

6. Most significant action was passage of suffrage amendment, which would in effect disfranchise blacks.

a. Applicant for registration had to pay poll tax and be able to read and write any section of state constitution.

b. In addition, "grandfather clause" provided that no person entitled to vote on or before January 1, 1867, or his lineal descendant should be denied registration due to his education qualifications, provided he registered before December 1, 1908.

c. Amendment had to be approved or rejected by the people in election of 1900.

7. Law providing for separate accommodations for blacks and whites on steamboats and railroads was first "Jim Crow" legislation.

VIII. Election of 1900.

A. Democrats.

1. Nominated Charles B. Aycock for governor.

2. Ran on platform advocating minimum school term of four months, better care for insane, statewide district primary election law, and ratification of suffrage amendment.

B. Populists were seriously handicapped by fractionalism.

1. Nominated Cyrus Thompson for governor, but he later withdrew as part of fusion arrangement with Republicans.

2. Populist party ceased to be significant force in politics.

3. Inquiry concerning nature of North Carolina Populism.

a. Question of whether in its ideals it was primarily racist, reactionary movement or racially tolerant, forward-looking movement anticipating progressivism and New Deal.

b. Question of relationship between Populists of 1890s and progressives of years after 1900.

C. Republicans.

1. Nominated Spencer B. Adams for governor.

2. Platform denied charge of black domination of state government, endorsed fusion rule, and denounced suffrage amendment as undemocratic and unconstitutional.

D. The campaign.

1. Blacks were generally quiescent, though group of prominent, educated Negroes protested suffrage amendment.

2. Democrats' campaign was again organized by Simmons and built around suffrage amendment and white supremacy.

a. Aycock and other Democrats argued that disfranchisement would be conducive to political peace and prosperity, beneficial to both races, and stimulating to wholesome division of whites on political issues.

    - b. Aycock asserted that whites were superior to blacks, and justified disfranchisement of ignorant blacks while maintaining that ignorant whites had right to vote by inheritance. When fear was raised that amendment might disfranchise illiterate whites, Aycock turned white supremacy campaign into crusade for universal public education.
  - 3. Although Republican party officially opposed amendment, some Republicans and Populists favored it.
  - 4. "Red Shirts" were again very active in support of Democrats.
- E. Result.
  - 1. Suffrage amendment was successful by vote of about 182,000 to 128,000.
  - 2. Aycock defeated Adams by about 187,000 to 126,000 votes.
  - 3. Democrats won big majorities in General Assembly.
  - 4. Democrats won seven of nine seats in House of Representatives.
- F. Aftermath.
  - 1. Actions of General Assembly of 1901.
    - a. Required permanent registration of voters under grandfather clause.
    - b. Enacted partisan election law permitting dominant party to practice fraud and intimidation.
    - c. Rearranged state senatorial and congressional districts by gerrymandering, which almost deprived Republicans of any representation.
    - d. Rejected statewide primary law it had advocated in campaign.
    - e. Lower house attempted partisan impeachment of two Republican Supreme Court judges, but senate blocked it.
  - 2. In elections of 1902 Democrats made clean sweep of all state offices and seats in national House of Representatives.
  - 3. Before end of 1903 Democrats controlled all departments of state government and entire North Carolina delegation to Congress.
  - 4. Republican state convention of 1902 excluded all Negro delegates, making party "lily white." Platform declared suffrage amendment had eliminated blacks from politics.
- G. Significance of campaign of 1900.
  - 1. Disfranchisement largely ended black participation in North Carolina politics, depriving Republicans of more than 30,000 voters.
  - 2. One-party system of Democratic control was strengthened. Chief divisions on issues were henceforth between factions of Democrats.
  - 3. Issue of white supremacy continued to be used effectively by Democrats in political campaigns.
  - 4. Still, fusion rule had large impact on Democratic party. No longer would it be staunchly conservative, wholly resistant to reform, and subservient to business interests. Democrats returned to power with positive program of public education and state development, and attitude of greater responsiveness to changing needs of growing state.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1900-1920: ERA OF DEMOCRATIC DOMINANCE

I. Democratic dominance of state government after 1900.
A. Unbroken succession of Democratic governors from Charles B. Aycock, 1901-1905, to Robert W. Scott, 1969-1973.
B. Although Republican vote was substantial, that party elected no governor, no U.S. senator, and only three representatives to Congress between 1900 and 1920.
C. General Assembly between 1900 and 1920.
1. In state Senate containing 50 members, usually only 2 or 3 were Republicans.
2. Among 120 members in state House of Representatives, usually only 5 or 6 were Republicans.

II. Status of Republican party.
A. Republicans usually controlled federal patronage in North Carolina, which often led to friction between federal and state officials. Democrats feared federal courts, for example, as potential source of attack on suffrage amendment of 1900.
B. Federal officeholders usually controlled state's Republican party and did not care to attempt to wrest control of state from Democrats.
C. Only an uninfluential minority of Republicans wanted to see party manifest aggressive interest in state problems.
D. Republicans failed to be an effective opposition party in state politics.
E. In North Carolina elections after 1900, Republican vote was generally larger for president than for governor. This indicated that many voters were attracted to conservative policies of national Republican party and fearful of national Democratic party.

III. Factions of Democratic party.
A. Conservatives dominated party most often.
1. They sought to encourage business as best means of state development but were reasonably responsive to demands for reform.
2. General themes of their campaigns.
a. Pointed to record of state's economic development from 1900 and of efficient, honest government.
b. Asserted friendliness to all classes.
c. Charged that liberals would, if in power, frighten business and hamper economic growth and social progress.
3. Economic and geographical base.
a. Piedmont region was chief conservative stronghold.
b. Industrial interests of West, business interests and large-scale farmers of East also supported them.
4. Organization.
a. Conservatives usually had control of election machinery, greater financial support, more numerous and abler leadership, and more widespread publicity.
b. Smooth-functioning organization led to charges of "machine control" and "boss rule."

c. U.S. Sen. F. M. Simmons was "boss" of Democratic "machine" until his defeat in 1930 following his refusal to support Democratic presidential nominee Alfred E. Smith in 1928.

B. Liberals or progressives.

1. General themes of their campaigns.

a. Accused conservatives of being subservient to special interests--tobacco and power companies, cotton mills, railroads, businessmen, and urbanites--and neglectful of interests of common people--mass of farmers and industrial laborers.

b. Liberals depicted themselves as democratic and progressive, sympathetic to farm and labor interests, and aspiring to make business bear greater share of tax burden.

2. Base was predominantly agricultural East.

3. Progressive leaders, 1900-1920.

a. Robert Glenn.
b. William W. Kitchin.
c. Thomas W. Bickett.
d. O. Max Gardner.
e. Robert N. Page.
f. Walter Clark.
g. Josephus Daniels.

IV. Political developments through election of 1912.

A. Off year elections of 1902.

1. Democrats swept all state and congressional offices.

2. General Assembly elected Lee S. Overman to succeed Republican Jeter C. Pritchard in U.S. Senate, and every North Carolinian in both houses of Congress was a Democrat.

3. Ardent liberal Walter Clark won contest for chief justice of state Supreme Court despite bitter opposition from big business interests and some influential Protestant leaders and cool attitude of Simmons machine.

B. South Dakota Bond Case, 1904.

1. U.S. Supreme Court ordered state of North Carolina to pay South Dakota $27,400 covering principal and accrued interest on ten state railroad construction bonds which had not been turned in for settlement in accordance with state debt settlement of 1879.

2. Marion Butler and former Gov. Daniel L. Russell were attorneys for Schafer Brothers, New York firm which donated the bonds to South Dakota because one state could be sued only by another.

3. Many Democrats urged resistance to decision, charging Butler and Russell were trying to inspire holders of millions of dollars worth of repudiated Reconstruction bonds to sue for payment.

4. Governor Aycock recommended compliance with decision and General Assembly followed his lead.

C. "Attempted Larceny" of Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, 1904.

1. At behest of outside financial interests trying to get control of road, Republican District Judge Thomas R. Purnell twice threw it into receivership.

2. Aycock successfully fought this effort to try to force state into unfavorable lease by getting courts to put state back in possession of road.

3. Late in 1904 Aycock leased road to Howland Improvement Company.

   4. Josephus Daniels was cited for contempt of court, fined, and imprisoned for harsh criticism of Judge Purnell until ordered discharged by new U.S. Circuit Court judge.

D. Election of 1904.
   1. Democrats were not well unified but Simmons played down differences, arguing that his party had rescued state from fusionism and had contributed to educational progress.
   2. Robert B. Glenn won gubernatorial nomination. He championed cause of organized labor and opposed use of taxes paid by whites for education of blacks. He had reputation as critic of Aycock.
   3. Glenn defeated Republican C. J. Harris by vote of about 129,000 to 80,000. Democratic presidential candidate Alton B. Parker carried state over Theodore Roosevelt.

E. Administration of Governor Glenn, 1905-1909.
   1. General Assembly passed several acts which were attacked as "detrimental to business."
      a. One of these reduced passenger rates on railroads to 2 1/4 cents per mile.
      b. Federal court issued injunction restraining state officials from enforcing penalties against Southern Railway for disobeying this law. Controversy developed in which Glenn took position that he would resist federal court decision.
      c. President Roosevelt intervened to help arrange compromise by which railroads would charge rates of 2 1/2 cents per mile.
   2. Statewide prohibition was adopted in series of steps.
      a. Watts Act of 1903 prohibited sale and manufacture of spirituous liquors except in incorporated towns.
      b. Ward Law of 1905 prohibited liquor traffic in all communities except incorporated towns of at least one thousand people.
      c. In 1908 General Assembly responded to urging of Governor Glenn by providing for referendum on statewide prohibition.
      d. In May, 1908, people adopted statewide prohibition by vote of about 114,000 to 69,000.
      e. Turlington Act of 1909 made it effective.
      f. North Carolina Anti-Saloon League was active throughout campaign.

F. Election of 1908.
   1. William W. Kitchin nominated by Democratic state convention on sixty-first ballot over Locke Craig. Kitchin was considered antimachine candidate.
   2. In general election he defeated Republican J. Elwood Cox by vote of about 145,000 to 108,000.
   3. Bryan carried state over Taft in presidential contest.

G. Election of 1912.
   1. Locke Craig, nominated at Democratic convention by acclamation, easily won governorship.
   2. Primary contest for U.S. senatorship was one of most spectacular battles ever against "Simmons machine."
      a. William W. Kitchin and Judge Walter Clark ran against Simmons.
      b. Simmons won surprisingly easy victory with about 85,000 votes to 47,000 for Kitchin and 16,000 for Clark.
   3. In presidential race, Woodrow Wilson carried state over Roosevelt and Taft.

V. Politics from 1912 to 1920.
   A. Several North Carolinians were prominent in Wilson administration.
      1. Josephus Daniels, secretary of the navy.
      2. David Houston, secretary of agriculture.
      3. F. M. Simmons, chairman of Senate Finance Committee.
      4. Lee Overman, chairman of Senate Rules Committee.
      5. Claude Kitchin, House Democratic leader.
      6. Edward W. Pou, chairman of House Rules Committee.
      7. E. Yates Webb, chairman of House Judiciary Committee.
      8. Walter Hines Page, ambassador to England.
   B. Election of 1916.
      1. First election held under statewide primary law passed in 1915.
      2. Contest marked by lack of bitterness.
      3. Thomas W. Bickett won Democratic nomination over E. L. Daughtridge by vote of about 63,000 to 37,000. Turnout was extremely small.
      4. Bickett defeated Republican Frank A. Linney by about 168,000 votes to 121,000.
      5. President Wilson carried state over Charles Evans Hughes.
   C. North Carolina's role in World War I.
      1. There were 86,457 North Carolinians in armed forces, including 20,340 blacks.
      2. Losses were 629 killed in action, 204 deaths from wounds, and 1,542 deaths from disease.
      3. Two divisions containing many North Carolinians became famous.
         a. Thirtieth or "Old Hickory" Division helped break Hindenburg Line.
         b. Eighty-First or "Wildcat" Division took part in Meuse-Argonne offensive.
      4. Several military training camps were established in state.
         a. Camp Green at Charlotte.
         b. Camp Polk at Raleigh.
         c. Fort Bragg near Fayetteville, only one which became permanent installation.
      5. Role of women.
         a. Many women worked through Red Cross, YMCA, YWCA, Knights of Columbus, and other organizations to help war effort.
         b. There were 135 North Carolina women who became nurses for American soldiers.
      6. State's citizens contributed $3 million to Red Cross and oversubscribed to quota of war bonds by $10 million.
      7. War forced people to economize on food and fuel; made industry step up production in shipyards and munitions plants.
      8. Naval war twice came close to North Carolina in August, 1918.
         a. Diamond Shoals Lighthouse sunk by German submarine.
         b. British tanker Mirdo torpedoed and sunk by German submarine off Rodanthe.
   D. Post war changes in state's tax structure.
      1. "Bickett Revaluation" of 1920 increased assessed value of all property in state from $1.099 billion to $3.139 billion as part of effort to eliminate tax discriminations and inequities.
      2. Legislature proposed amendments to tax incomes at graduated rate not to exceed 6 percent and to limit general property tax (except for school purposes) to 15 cents on $100 valuation. Citizens approved amendments in referendum.

    3. In early 1920s state government ceased to levy general property tax, leaving property as exclusive and main source of revenue for local governments.

E. Woman's movement and changes in status of women.
    1. Changes in legal status of women began to release them from shackles of common law, which originally had transferred virtually all a woman's property to her husband on her marriage day and which had allowed a husband to chastise his wife by whipping her.
        a. Late in nineteenth century court held that old notion that a man had right to whip his wife with switch "no larger than his thumb" was not law in North Carolina, and that "the husband has no right to chastise his wife under any circumstances."
        b. General Assembly of 1911 passed legislation removing limitation on married woman's right to make contracts, permitting her to go into business for herself and to sue and be sued in her own name.
        c. General Assembly of 1913 passed legislation permitting married woman to sue in her own name for injuries to her person and keep the money for herself.
        d. As of 1920 married woman could sue her husband for injuries to her person and keep the money for herself.
        e. Not until 1951 were husband and wife allowed to sue each other for damages to property or person; and only in 1962 did courts recognize married woman's right to her earnings and services.
    2. Three movements, beginning around turn of century, were instrumental in women's struggle to free themselves from shackles of custom and tradition in North Carolina.
        a. Woman's Club movement.
            1) In late nineteenth century women began to organize book clubs, music clubs, and nature clubs.
            2) By early twentieth century these expanded into Village Betterment Societies and other groups with goal of improving community life.
            3) In 1911 Sally Southall Cotten gave examples of their activities.
                a) Sponsoring Clean-up Day.
                b) Getting garbage ordinances passed.
                c) Getting trash cans installed on streets.
                d) Writing county histories.
                e) Awarding scholarships.
                f) Improving conditions at railroad stations.
                g) Agitating for medical inspection in schools and other health measures.
                h) Equipping playgrounds.
        b. Movement for education beyond high school had as its goal opening of professions and occupations which had been closed to women by custom and tradition. Progress of this movement can be exemplified by four major breakthroughs at UNC.
            1) In 1877 women were admitted to UNC summer normal school for teachers.
            2) Postgraduate courses were opened to women in 1894.
            3) Women were admitted to junior and senior classes in 1895.

        4) In 1917 Pres. Edward K. Graham called for dormitory for women. It was opened in 1925 as Cornelius Phillips Spencer Dormitory.
    c. Woman's Suffrage movement.
        1) In 1894 forty-five men and women met in Mayor Patton's home in Asheville and organized first Woman's Suffrage Association in North Carolina, with Helen Morris Lewis as president.
        2) First bill to allow women to vote in North Carolina was introduced in 1897 by J. L. Hyatt, Republican senator. It was referred to committee on insane asylums.
        3) Statewide organization, Equal Suffrage Association, was organized in 1913.
        4) In 1920 special session of North Carolina General Assembly had opportunity to become thirty-sixth state ratifying Nineteenth (woman's suffrage) Amendment. Had it done so, North Carolina would have been the state which gave amendment the necessary three-fourths majority. But legislature refused to ratify it and in addition sent delegate to Tennessee legislature to discourage it from ratifying. Tennessee ignored North Carolina's advice and ratified amendment.
        5) North Carolina General Assembly then refused to support resolution ratifying the fait accompli. Not until 1971 did it ratify Nineteenth Amendment.

VI. Inquiry concerning North Carolina progressivism, 1900-1920.
    A. Total accomplishments or degree of impact progressivism had on state.
    B. Types of voters who supported progressivism.
    C. Organizations in North Carolina which reflected progressivism.
    D. Progressivism at municipal level.

NORTH CAROLINA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY TO THE 1920s

I. Demographic trends.
  A. State's total population increased from 1.9 million in 1900 to 3.2 million in 1920.
  B. Per capita wealth in 1922 was $1,703, ranking forty-second in nation.
  C. Percentage of urban population increased from less than 10 percent in 1900 to more than 19 percent in 1920.
  D. Causes for increased urbanization.
    1. Higher wages and social appeal of towns.
    2. Low prices of farm crops.
    3. Soil exhaustion and erosion.
    4. Extension of city limits to include suburban areas.

II. Agriculture: North Carolina continued to be state of small farms.
  A. Farm statistics.
    1. Number of farms increased from 225,000 in 1900 to 283,000 in 1925.
    2. However, acreage of farmland declined from twenty-three million acres in 1900 to nineteen million in 1925.
    3. Tenancy increased.
      a. Tenants operated 41 percent of farms in 1900, 45 percent in 1925.
      b. Counties with largest tenant ratios were in areas producing cotton and tobacco.
      c. In 1925 there were more than thirty counties in which over half the farmers were tenants.
      d. Number of white tenants was always greater than number of black tenants. But in 1920 only 33 percent of all white farmers were tenants as compared to 71 percent of all black farmers.
  B. Leading crops.
    1. Cotton.
      a. Annual production rose from 460,000 bales in 1900 to 1,102,000 in 1925, raising state's rank from eighth to seventh among cotton-producing states.
      b. Yield per acre was usually highest of all states for several reasons:
        1) Well-cultivated farms.
        2) Greater use of commercial fertilizer.
        3) Relative scarcity of boll weevil.
      c. Cotton was usually largest single source of farm income prior to 1900. After that date tobacco replaced it.
    2. Tobacco.
      a. Production increased greatly: in 1900 state produced 127,503,000 pounds valued at $8 million on about 200,000 acres. In 1925 it produced 380,165,000 pounds valued at about $87 million on 547,000 acres.
      b. North Carolina was second to Kentucky in tobacco production.
    3. Corn.
      a. Raised primarily as food and feed rather than as cash crop.
      b. Acreage in corn dropped from 2.7 million in 1899 to 2

million in 1924, while number of bushels produced decreased from 35 million to 31 million.

4. Peanuts became commercial crop after 1900.
5. Wheat cultivation continued.
6. Hay was still produced in large quantities.
7. Irish potatoes became important crop in 1920s.
8. Sweet potatoes also became significant.
9. Soybeans: North Carolina led all other states in production by 1920s.
10. Other crops in which state was among leaders.
    a. Peas.
    b. Strawberries.
    c. Peaches.
    d. Rye.

C. Livestock played extremely small role in state's agricultural system of this era.

D. State's agricultural situation was backward, with most of its farmers living from hand-to-mouth.
   1. Farmers failed to cooperate effectively.
   2. Lonely life on isolated farms encouraged social and economic inertia that was resistant to change.

E. Farmers' Union.
   1. Agitated for legislation to improve plight of farmer.
   2. Entered North Carolina in 1905. From 1912 to 1913 it reached its peak, with state membership of over 33,000 which was over one third of national membership. By late 1920s it was in deep decline.
   3. Carolina Union Farmer was its publication.

F. Other efforts to solve farm problems.
   1. Farm colonies of European immigrants established under leadership of Hugh McRae.
      a. St. Helena (Italian).
      b. Castle Hayne and Van Eden (Dutch).
      c. New Berlin (German).
   2. 4-H Clubs.
   3. Tobacco Experiment Station near Oxford.
   4. Credit unions of farmers were organized after General Assembly passed Credit Union Law of 1915.
   5. In 1920 Tobacco Growers Cooperative Marketing Association of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia was organized. It lasted until 1926, when it went into receivership.

III. Manufacturing underwent remarkable development.

A. Statistics.
   1. Value of manufactures increased from $95 million in 1900 to $217 million in 1910, to $944 million in 1920. In 1920 value of manufactures was twice that of agriculture.
   2. Number of wage earners grew from 72,000 in 1899 to 158,000 in 1919, to 205,000 in 1927.

B. North Carolina became the leading industrial state of Southeast and nation's largest producer of cotton textiles, tobacco products, and wooden furniture. Leading manufactures were closely associated with raw materials produced locally.

C. Development of electric power helped make possible rapid industrialization.

        1. James B. Duke and Duke Power Company.
        2. Other power companies.
            a. Carolina Power and Light.
            b. Tidewater Power Company.
            c. Virginia Electric and Power Company.
    D. Textile industry was state's most important industry.
        1. Chief textile products.
            a. Greensboro had largest denim mill in world.
            b. Roanoke Rapids had world's largest damask mill.
            c. Kannapolis had world's largest towel mill.
            d. Winston-Salem had largest men's underwear factory in world.
            e. Hosiery.
            f. Yarns.
            g. Blankets.
            h. Dyeing and finishing of men's work clothes.
        2. Total value of textile products grew from $30 million in 1900 to $450 million in 1930.
        3. Number of textile workers increased from 32,000 in 1900 to 125,000 in 1930.
        4. Most mills were in Piedmont between Durham and Shelby.
    E. Tobacco products.
        1. Value of tobacco manufactures--mainly cigarettes and pipe tobacco--increased from $16 million in 1900 to $413 million in 1927.
        2. Industry was extensively mechanized, causing number of workers to increase at relatively slow pace of 7,000 in 1900 to 16,000 in 1927.
        3. Companies and cities.
            a. R. J. Reynolds--Winston-Salem.
            b. Liggett-Myers--Durham.
            c. American Tobacco Company--Reidsville.
    F. Furniture industry.
        1. Value of furniture products rose from $1.5 million in 1899 to $54 million in 1929.
        2. Number of laborers increased from 2,000 to 15,000 for same period.
        3. By 1925 North Carolina led nation in producing wooden furniture and was fifth in production of all furniture.
        4. High Point was most important furniture town but other towns were also significant, especially in Piedmont.
    G. Other manufactures.
        1. Lumber and lumber products.
        2. Flour and meal.
        3. Cottonseed oil.
        4. Fertilizer.
        5. Leather.
        6. Railway car construction and repair.
        7. Printing and publishing.
        8. Paper.

IV. Organization of labor proceeded slowly.
    A. Obstacles to organization of labor.
        1. Hostility of employers, who usually refused to recognize workers' right to bargain collectively.
        2. Hostility or indifference of state government and of public opinion.

3. Large number of unskilled workers.
4. Division of industrial workers among many scattered factories.

B. North Carolina State Federation of Labor formed in 1905, largely of unions of skilled workers such as printers, carpenters, engineers, machinists, and railway workers.

C. In 1900 there were 82 labor unions in state, including 16 in textile industry. However, failure of several strikes that year led to decline of union movement.

D. In 1919 United Textile Workers organized 43 unions with estimated membership of 30,000. Major strike and lockout in Charlotte area was partially successful.

E. In 1921-1922 major textile strikes failed and another lapse of union activity followed.

V. Extractive industries.

A. Mining.

1. Total value of state's mineral production increased from about $1.6 million in 1901 to about $12.6 million in 1927.
2. Building materials such as granite, brick, tile, sand, gravel, and cement products accounted for most of increase.
3. After 1911 North Carolina ranked first in production of feldspar.
4. State produced most of America's kaolin, about 70 percent of its mica, and 35 percent of its titanium.

B. Commercial fisheries.

1. In 1920s average annual value of seafood products was about $3 million.
2. Most important food fish:
    a. Shad.
    b. Trout.
    c. Herring.
3. Nonfood fish, especially menhaden used for oil in manufacturing, were also important.
4. Oysters, shrimp, and scallops were also caught by state's fishermen.

VI. Banking and insurance.

A. Banking experience accelerated growth.

1. In 1900 state had 120 banks with resources of $33 million; by 1918 it had 543 banks holding $288 million.
2. Only five states had smaller per capita bank resources than North Carolina's $176.77.

B. Building and loan associations underwent dramatic increase in early 1920s. By mid-1920s almost 10,000 new homes were being built annually through building and loan plans.

C. Several of state's major insurance companies were organized during this period.

1. North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company was organized by blacks in Durham, 1899.
2. Pilot Life Insurance Company of Greensboro was formed in 1903.
3. Jefferson Standard Life Insurance Company was formed by merger of two older companies and became largest insurance company in state.
4. Number of fire insurance companies also increased.

VII. Railroads.
- A. Railroad mileage increased to 5,522 by 1920.
- B. Fourth large system emerged--Norfolk Southern Railroad.
- C. In addition to large systems, more than thirty companies operated short lines in state.
- D. Continuing grievances against railroads.
    1. Excessive and discriminatory rates.
    2. Poor service.
    3. Tax-dodging.
    4. Making excessive earnings.
    5. Stock-watering, pooling, giving rebates.
    6. Charging more for short haul than long haul over same road.
    7. Corruptly influencing legislators through lobbyists and free passes.
    8. Influencing judges.
- E. Corporation Commission was state's regulatory agency, and after 1900 its power increased.
    1. Could require adjustment of train schedules.
    2. Could order provision of adequate warehouses.
    3. Could promote improved handling of freight.
    4. Could regulate electric light, power, and gas companies and supervise motor vehicles.

VIII. Highways and automobiles.
- A. Use of automobiles rose from 2,400 in 1910 to 150,000 in 1921.
- B. In 1911 there were only 1,175 miles of macadamized, 1,502 miles of sand-clay, and 683 miles of gravel roads out of total mileage of about 48,000 in whole state.
- C. North Carolina Good Roads Association was organized in 1902, with P. H. Hanes as president.
- D. State Highway Commission was created in 1915 by General Assembly to cooperate with counties in road building.
- E. In 1916 Congress passed Federal Highway Act and began to allocate funds to states on matching basis to improve federal interstate roads.
- F. State Highway Commission was authorized to receive federal funds and state automobile license fees to maintain roads, 1917.
- G. With passage of Highway Act of 1921, North Carolina began to emerge as "Good Roads State."

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL GROWTH IN NORTH CAROLINA FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY TO THE 1920s

I. Public education.
  A. Causes of progress in public education in this period.
    1. General economic prosperity.
    2. Widespread awareness of intellectual backwardness.
    3. More enlightened leadership by Democrats.
  B. Beginnings of crusade for public schools.
    1. Aycock stressed public education in campaign of 1900.
    2. Once in office, Aycock and Superintendent of Public Instruction Thomas F. Toon (who soon died and was succeeded by James Y. Joyner) led promotional campaign for public schools.
      a. Southern Education Board in 1902 began contributing $2,000 per year to campaign.
      b. Governor Aycock, at suggestion of Charles D. McIver, called conference of educational workers which issued widely publicized "Declaration Against Illiteracy."
      c. Central Campaign Committee for the Promotion of Public Education in North Carolina was set up to lead campaign. Members were Aycock, Joyner, McIver, and Eugene C. Brooks.
      d. Most remarkable educational campaign in state's history apparently convinced North Carolinians of value of public education.
  C. In case of J. R. Collie v. Commissioners, 1907, state Supreme Court reversed Barksdale decision, laying basis for increased school funding by local government.
  D. Achievements in public education, 1900-1910.
    1. Nearly 3,000 schoolhouses were built. Total value of school property increased from $1 million to $5 million. Annual state appropriation for equalizing school term among counties almost doubled.
    2. State government loaned money to aid counties in building and improving schools.
    3. Services of office of superintendent of public instruction expanded, especially in distribution of educational bulletins and in school supervision.
    4. Number of special local tax districts increased from 18 to 1,167.
    5. Number of rural school libraries increased from 472 to 2,272.
    6. Nearly a month was added to length of school term.
    7. Enrollment and average daily attendance increased, as did teachers' salaries.
    8. Compulsory school law enacted 1907.
    9. Illiteracy among persons ten years old and above dropped from 28.7 percent to 18.5 percent.
    10. Normal schools for blacks were improved and three were established for whites.
      a. Appalachian Teaching School at Boone, 1903.
      b. Cullowhee Normal and Industrial School (later Western Carolina University), 1905.
      c. East Carolina Teacher's Training School at Greenville, 1907.
    11. General Assembly of 1907 passed "act to stimulate high school instruction in public schools," which was especially aimed at encouraging rural high schools. By 1911 about 200 rural high schools had been established in 93 of state's counties.

E. Public school progress was even more rapid during 1910-1920.
1. General Assembly of 1913 levied statewide property tax of 5 cents (on $100 valuation) to enable schools to lengthen terms to as much as six months.
2. It also enacted better compulsory school law requiring all children between eight and twelve years of age to attend school at least four months per year.
3. It likewise made provision for teaching of agriculture and domestic science in schools.
4. General Assembly of 1917 created State Board of Examiners and Institute Conductors to examine and certify applicants for teaching positions in public schools and to direct teachers' institutes.
5. It also created Educational Commission to make study of school system, which led to additional improvements in financing and administering schools and in training and certifying teachers.
6. In 1918 voters approved constitutional amendment extending minimum school term to six months.

F. Progress was also made in Negro public schools in similar pattern, but improvements were always less expensive and poorer in every respect.
1. Jeanes Fund, Slater Fund, Rosenwalk Fund, and General Education Board cooperated with counties and state government in improving black schools.
2. Disparity between black and white schools remained great. In 1918-1919, for example, monthly salary for white teachers was $62; for Negro teachers, $37.18.

II. Higher Education.

A. Facilities were revolutionized at pace similar to public schools. Several factors were responsible.
1. Support by state government.
2. Educational foundations such as Carnegie Foundation.
3. Churches.
4. Philanthropic individuals.

B. State-supported institutions.
1. Annual appropriations for maintenance of UNC and state colleges increased from $155,000 in 1901 to over $2 million in 1920s; and for improvements from $95,500 to about $2 million.
2. Increased funds led to expansion of physical plants, faculties, and breadth and quality of educational program.
3. UNC underwent remarkable development under three presidents.

a. Francis P. Venable, 1900-1914.
1) Financial condition improved.
2) Physical plant expanded.
3) Large increases in enrollment.
4) Athletics encouraged.
5) Creative scholarship was required of faculty.
6) Graduate and professional schools improved in quality.

b. Edward K. Graham, 1914-1918.
1) University's services to state at large increased.
2) Administration and building programs were better financed.

c. Henry W. Chase, 1919-1930.
1) Rapid physical expansion.
2) University achieved reputation for high standards of scholarship and freedom in research and writing.

4. Agricultural and Mechanical College at Raleigh.
    a. Several new buildings were added.
    b. Enrollment grew from 301 in 1901 to 1,040 in 1920.
5. Appropriations for state normal schools and teachers' colleges also increased.
    a. Regular appropriations grew from $32,000 in 1901 to over $500,000 in 1920.
    b. Appropriations for permanent improvement grew from $5,000 to $500,000 in same period.

C. Denominational colleges also grew.
1. Davidson.
2. Wake Forest.
3. Meredith.
4. Trinity College made most spectacular strides.
    a. Presidents were John C. Kilgo and W. P. Few.
    b. Duke family supported it.
    c. South Atlantic Quarterly founded, 1902.
    d. Trinity became center of controversy in 1903 when Prof. John Spencer Bassett was criticized for his praise of Booker T. Washington. Kilgo and faculty defended him, and when Board of Trustees voted not to dismiss him, their action was considered great victory for academic freedom in South.

III. Library facilities.

A. In 1897 Durham established state's first tax-supported public library. Several cities followed its example.

B. State Library was maintained by government, but its appropriations remained woefully small.

C. At start of this period, school libraries were almost nonexistent and college libraries were poor.

D. State government took lead in encouraging library development.
1. Offered limited funds to aid in establishing public school libraries.
2. Made more liberal appropriations for libraries in institutions of higher learning.
3. Established Library Commission of North Carolina in 1909, which stimulated improvement and reorganization of existing libraries and establishment of new ones.

E. North Carolina still suffered from backwardness in its library facilities in 1920s.

IV. Newspapers.

A. Although number of newspapers decreased in first quarter of twentieth century, there was improvement in their quality. For example, they increased in size and covered greater variety of topics.

B. Circulation increased from 612,000 in 1901 to over two million in 1926. This was due to several factors.
1. Technological improvements in newspaper printing.
2. Development of rural free delivery system.
3. General improvement of transportation facilities.

C. Leading newspapers.
1. Charlotte Observer, Joseph P. Caldwell, editor.
2. Raleigh News and Observer, Josephus Daniels, editor.
3. Greensboro Daily News, Gerald W. Johnson, editor.

V. Writers: for first time in many years literary production of North Carolinians achieved more than local attention.
   A. History and biography.
      1. Writers untrained in research methods produced some worthwhile books.
         a. Samuel A. Ashe wrote History of North Carolina, 1908-1925, and Biographical History of North Carolina, (8 volumes), 1905-1917.
         b. Kemp P. Battle, History of the University of North Carolina, 1907-1912.
         c. Walter Clark edited Confederate regimental histories (5 volumes), 1901, and State Records of North Carolina (16 volumes), 1895-1907.
         d. Charles L. Coon edited documentary records on state's public schools.
         e. Marshall DeLancey Haywood wrote Governor William Tryon, and Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina, 1910.
      2. Professional historians trained in modern research methcds.
         a. John Spencer Bassett.
         b. William K. Boyd.
         c. R. D. W. Connor.
         d. William E. Dodd.
         e. J. G. de R. Hamilton.
      3. North Carolina Historical Commission established 1903 with goal of collecting, preserving, and publishing state's historical sources.
   B. Literature:
      1. Poets.
         a. John Charles McNeill.
            1) Songs, Merry and Sad, 1906.
            2) Lyrics from Cotton Land, 1907.
         b. John Henry Boner.
         c. Henry Jerome Stockard.
      2. Fiction.
         a. Thomas Dixon.
            1) The Leopard's Spots, 1902.
            2) The Clansman, 1905.
         b. Charles W. Chesnutt, America's first significant black novelist.
            1) The Wife of His Youth, 1899.
            2) The Conjure Woman, 1899.
            3) The House Behind the Cedars, 1900.
            4) The Colonel's Dream, 1905.
         c. William Sidney Porter (O. Henry).
            1) Cabbages and Kings, 1904.
            2) The Four Million, 1907.
            3) Rolling Stones, 1912.
         d. Francis Christine Tiernan (Christian Reid).
         e. Olive Tilford Dargan (Fielding Burke) wrote plays, poetry, and sketches as well as novels and stories.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1920-1932

I. Hallmarks of era.
A. Nativism: Ku Klux Klan active in state.
B. Fundamentalism: though it was strong, efforts to pass antievolution legislation in North Carolina failed.
C. Prohibition:
1. Most North Carolinians supported prohibition and Eighteenth Amendment, 1919.
2. Still, Eighteenth Amendment was not rigidly enforced.
3. Although Twenty-first Amendment, 1933, repealed national prohibition, most of North Carolina remained legally dry until 1937.

II. Administration of Gov. Cameron Morrison, 1921-1925.
A. Election of 1920.
1. Democratic presidential candidate James M. Cox carried state over Republican Warren Harding, though Harding won nationally by landslide.
2. Main issues of gubernatorial campaign were "machine control" and female suffrage.
3. "Machine" candidate Morrison, who opposed female suffrage, led O. Max Gardner and Robert N. Page in Democratic primary and then went on to win second primary over Gardner, 70,000 to 61,000 votes.
4. In general election he defeated Republican John J. Parker, 308,000 to 230,000.
B. North Carolina became "Good Roads State."
1. Highway Act of 1921.
a. Increased personnel and powers of Highway Commission.
b. Directed building and maintenance of system of 6,000 miles of improved roads.
c. Authorized bond issue of $50 million for highway construction.
2. Sale of bonds enabled roads to be built rapidly and paid for later by income from state taxes on motor vehicles and gasoline.
3. Important people in program included Harriet Morehead Berry, secretary of Good Roads Association, and Frank Page, chairman of Highway Commission.
C. Higher education.
1. State greatly increased appropriations for colleges and UNC, which continued program begun in 1900.
2. Trinity College was expanded and transformed into Duke University via creation of Duke Endowment in 1924-1925.
D. Public schools continued to improve.
1. Term of E. C. Brooks as superintendent of public instruction, 1919-1923.
a. Six month school term effected.
b. Salary schedules adopted for teachers and administrators.
c. Certification regulations strengthened.
d. Counties were loaned $10 million for erecting schoolhouses.
e. Many small rural schools consolidated.
f. School bus transportation system began.
g. Vocational education extended.
2. Term of Arch T. Allen, 1923-1934.

a. School building program continued.

b. Stress placed on standardization of schools.

c. Curriculum revised.

d. State School Facts, monthly publication, begun.

e. New emphasis placed on library facilities.

E. Morrison's plan to appropriate $8.5 million to develop state's ports and provide water transport competition for railroads failed when voters defeated constitutional amendment.

F. Other changes during Morrison years.

1. State ad valorem property taxes abolished.
2. Income taxes increased.
3. North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham became full-fledged state institution.
4. Gastonia Orthopedic Hospital for children came under state control.

G. Morrison administration was illustrative of trend of expanding government power, evident throughout 1920s.

III. Administration of Angus W. McLean, 1925-1929.

A. Election of 1924.

1. In Democratic primary, issue was once again "machine control," but McLean, candidate of "machine," soundly defeated Josiah W. Bailey.
2. In general election, he defeated Republican Isaac M. Meekins, 294,000 to 186,000 votes.
3. Democrat John W. Davis carried state in presidential contest over Coolidge, who won nationwide.

B. Economy in government was watchword of McLean's term.

C. Budget Bureau was created.

D. General Assembly of 1925 created some new agencies and consolidated some others.

1. Revenue Department given power to collect all taxes.
2. Salary and Wage Commission created to correct inequities in state employees' compensation.
3. Department of Conservation and Development replaced Geologic and Economic Survey.
4. Transportation Advisory Commission created to study problem of freight rate differentials.
5. Educational Commission created to attend to needs of public schools and state-supported institutions of higher learning.

E. Other actions of General Assembly of 1925.

1. Authorized $20 million bond issue for highways.
2. Increased tax on gasoline to 4 cents per gallon.
3. Continued liberal appropriations to public schools and institutions of higher learning.

F. General Assembly of 1927 created three important state agencies.

1. Tax Commission.
2. County Government Advisory Commission.
3. State Board of Equalization.

G. General Assembly of 1927 also allocated unprecedented $3.25 million for public schools during biennium.

H. Antievolutionist crusade.

1. In both 1925 and 1927 Rep. D. Scott Poole of Hoke County, backed by organized antievolutionist campaign, introduced bills in state House of Representatives aimed at prohibiting teaching of evolution in public schools. Bills were defeated in both cases.
2. Leaders of antievolutionist crusade tended to be impolitic

        and sensationalistic in their appeals. Many moderate fundamentalists became disenchanted with them.
    3. Efforts of educators Harry W. Chase and William Louis Poteat helped defeat proposed antievolutionist legislation.

IV. Election of 1928.
  A. In presidential contest, Republican Herbert Hoover, Protestant advocate of prohibition, went against Democrat Alfred E. Smith, Catholic opponent of prohibition and native of New York City's "East Side."
  B. Sen. Furnifold M. Simmons opposed Smith's nomination and, once Smith won it, stated that he would vote for neither candidate. Many North Carolinians probably followed him.
  C. Hoover carried North Carolina by vote of 349,000 to 286,000, and four other southern states also went for Hoover. Simmons' anti-Smith organization may have been just enough to turn state to Hoover.
  D. State elected two Republicans to Congress--Charles A. Jonas and George M. Pritchard.
  E. Republicans won more seats in General Assembly than they had in years, although Democrats still retained control of both houses.
  F. Democrat O. Max Gardner, unopposed for nomination, defeated Republican H. F. Seawell by vote of 362,000 to 289,000 to win governorship.

V. Gardner administration, 1929-1933, and beginning of Great Depression.
  A. General Assembly of 1929.
    1. Adopted Australian (or secret) ballot but defeated short ballot.
    2. Passed Workmen's Compensation Act, created Industrial Commission to administer it.
    3. Enacted some county road relief measures.
    4. Placed all state agencies under Budget Bureau.
  B. Great Depression began in late 1929.
    1. Prices dropped sharply and continued to do so until 1933. Wages and salaries were cut.
    2. Many businesses closed; individuals and companies went bankrupt. Numerous banks failed.
    3. Unemployment rose to alarming proportions.
    4. Many could not pay their taxes.
  C. Depression's impact on government.
    1. Counties and towns were unable to maintain roads, schools, and other services and had to cut salaries of employees.
    2. State government likewise had to reduce its services and salaries of its employees.
  D. Events of 1930-1931.
    1. People across state called for reduction of taxes. Tax relief associations called for special legislative session.
    2. Gardner refused to call special session but ordered several investigations of state government, including one by Brookings Institution of Washington, D.C.
    3. Josiah Bailey defeated seventy-four-year-old Senate veteran F. M. Simmons in senatorial primary of 1930, winning majority of 68,000 out of total vote of 333,000. Many Democrats turned against Simmons due to his refusal to support Smith in 1928.
  E. Major actions of General Assembly of 1931.
    1. Although many days were spent debating sales tax and luxury tax, legislators failed to enact either.

2. Corporate income taxes were increased by about $2 million and franchise taxes by about $2.25 million.
3. State took over operation of county roads, which would lead to substantial reduction of local taxes. County roads had been costing $8.25 million per year.
4. Local Government Act set up Local Government Commission with supervisory authority over financial affairs of both county and municipal units of government. It took control of local budgets and restricted power of local units to incur additional debt.
5. UNC at Chapel Hill, State College, and Woman's College were consolidated into UNC system.
6. McLean Law provided that a six month constitutional school term should be supported by state from sources other than ad valorem taxes.
7. Total cost of state government was reduced by $7 million and tax burden was reduced by $12 million through school and road legislation.

VI. Election of 1932.
   A. In first Democratic primary J. C. B. Ehringhaus, champion of Gardner administration, led Richard T. Fountain and A. J. Maxwell.
   B. In second primary, Ehringhaus defeated Fountain by vote of 182,000 to 169,000.
   C. Ehringhaus defeated Republican Clifford Frazier in general election by vote of 498,000 to 213,000.
   D. Race for Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate between Cameron Morrison who had been appointed at time of Sen. Lee S. Overman's death, and Robert R. Reynolds attracted wide attention. In first primary Reynolds emerged with narrow lead over Morrison, with two other candidates trailing far behind.
   E. In second primary Reynolds portrayed himself as champion of the common people and overwhelmingly defeated Morrison, 228,000 votes to 120,000.
   F. In presidential election, Franklin Roosevelt carried North Carolina by wide margin, defeating Herbert Hoover.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE NEW DEAL, 1933-1941

I. Administration of Governor Ehringhaus, 1933-1937.
  A. Ehringhaus took office at low point of Great Depression.
  B. General Assembly of 1933.
    1. Provided for revaluation of property.
    2. Repealed 15 cents ad valorem property tax.
    3. Some proposals to reorganize and consolidate state agencies passed.
      a. Parole and Pardon Commission created.
      b. State Board of Equalization replaced by State School Commission.
      c. State Highway and Prison departments were merged.
      d. Utilities Commission replaced Corporation Commission.
    4. After long debate, 3 percent general sales tax was enacted. It became largest source of revenue for general fund and made possible balancing of state budget.
    5. Minimum school term was extended from six to eight months.
    6. State government took over almost entire support of public schools from localities.
    7. Salaries of teachers and state employees were again reduced.
  C. End of statewide prohibition.
    1. General Assembly of 1933 authorized statewide referendum on prohibition. In November election, about 293,000 North Carolinians voted against calling convention to consider proposed amendment that would repeal Eighteenth Amendment, while only 120,000 favored convention.
    2. But antiprohibitionists would not give up. Legislature of 1935 passed bill exempting Pasquotank County from prohibition law and establishing Alcoholic Beverage Control Board. Bill was amended and passed to grant local option to Pasquotank and fifteen other counties.
    3. In 1935 first county-operated liquor store opened at Wilson.
    4. Meanwhile, national prohibition was repealed in 1933.
    5. Also in 1933 Congress legalized sale of light wine and beer with 3.2 percent alcoholic content. On May 1, 1933, sale of such beverages became legal in North Carolina.

II. The New Deal and its impact on North Carolina.
  A. Measures to end financial crisis.
    1. Bank holiday and Emergency Banking Act of 1933, which provided for reopening of banks when their solvency was assured.
    2. Grants to banks and businesses from Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 1932-1933, which had been initiated by President Hoover and continued under Franklin Delano Roosevelt.
    3. Glass-Steagall Act of 1933 curbed speculation by banks and set up Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.
    4. Banking Act of 1935 strengthened Federal Reserve System.
  B. Relief: from 1933 to 1938 North Carolina received about $428 million in federal aid. Though figure seems large, North Carolina received lowest per capita amount of all states.
    1. Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC): by end of 1935 76 camps had been established in state and nearly 27,000 men had enrolled.
    2. Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA): during 1933-1935, North Carolina received about $40 million in funds.

   3. Public Works Administration (PWA): from 1933 to 1935 state received about $12 million.
   4. National Youth Administration (NYA).
      a. Created mid-1935.
      b. By mid 1936 475 projects were being carried on in state, 25,000 youths had received part-time jobs, and 13,000 had received jobs to aid in continuance of their education.
   5. Works Progress Administration (WPA), created in 1935, superseded FERA and took over some aspects of PWA.

C. Aid for agriculture.
   1. Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), created 1933.
      a. Made "benefit payments" to farmers for limiting production and for soil conservation.
      b. Declared unconstitutional, 1936.
      c. Replaced to some degree by Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, 1936, and by second AAA, 1938.
   2. Rural Electrification Administration (REA), 1935.
   3. Farm Security Administration, (FSA), 1937.
   4. Under New Deal program of controlled production, crop prices rose and income of North Carolina farmers increased from about $150 million in 1932 to $305 million in 1935.
   5. From 1933 to 1940 state's farmers received almost $100 million in federal benefits.

D. Business and labor.
   1. National Industrial Recovery Act, 1933.
      a. Created National Recovery Administration (NRA), whose purpose was to regulate businesses.
      b. Its section 7(a) sought to protect rights of labor to organize and strike.
      c. Declared unconstitutional, 1935.
   2. Wagner Act, 1935, insured right of workers to bargain collectively. Under this stimulus, organization of labor in North Carolina proceeded rapidly.
   3. State established Unemployment Compensation Commission under federal encouragement.
   4. Wages and Hours Act, 1938.

E. Social Security Act of 1935 led state to embark on program under which needy aged, blind, and dependent children received monthly payments.

F. New Deal instituted several other major programs, such as Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), and increased regulation of utility companies, telegraph, telephone, and radio.

G. Impact of New Deal on state government.
   1. By 1935 improved conditions in North Carolina enabled state government to increase salaries of its employees and of teachers and to make larger appropriations for all state services.
   2. By 1939 every important state service had been restored to more than its 1930 level of appropriations except public schools and state-supported institutions of higher learning.
   3. However, many North Carolina political leaders had little enthusiasm for New Deal and its reforms.

H. Many North Carolinians held high federal office under FDR, including several who achieved posts of major influence.

1. Robert L. Doughton, chairman of House Ways and Means Committee.
2. Lindsay Warren, comptroller general of U.S.
3. Josephus Daniels, ambassador to Mexico.
4. R. D. W. Connor, first archivist of U.S., 1934-1941.

III. State politics, 1936-1941.
  A. Election of 1936.
    1. President Roosevelt carried state over Republican Alfred M. Landon.
    2. In gubernatorial election, Clyde R. Hoey narrowly led Dr. Ralph McDonald in Democrats' first primary, with A. H. Graham distant third.
    3. Hoey defeated McDonald in second primary by about 266,000 to 214,000 votes and went on to win general election over Gilliam Grissom of Republicans.
    4. J. W. Bailey was reelected to U.S. Senate.
    5. In 1938 Robert R. Reynolds was reelected to U.S. Senate.
  B. Administration of Governor Hoey, 1937-1941.
    1. General Assembly raised prohibitory age for employment of children to sixteen years and to eighteen for certain jobs. It rejected proposed federal Child Labor Amendment.
    2. Limited hours of industrial labor to forty-eight for women and fifty-five for men with numerous exceptions.
    3. Enacted statewide county option liquor bill and created State Board of Alcoholic Beverage Control. ABC stores were soon established in more than a quarter of state's counties, largely in East.
    4. Legislature repealed absentee ballot laws for primaries.
    5. Free textbooks authorized for public schools in elementary grades and textbook rental system for high schools.
    6. Two state-supported Negro colleges were authorized to establish graduate and professional schools in liberal arts, agriculture and technical studies, law, pharmacy, and library science.
  C. Election of 1940.
    1. In Democratic primary for governor, J. Melville Broughton led field of seven candidates. Runner-up W. P. Horton failed to demand second primary, and Broughton became nominee.
    2. Broughton defeated Republican Robert H. McNeill, 609,000 to 195,000--largest majority ever given gubernatorial candidate to that time.
    3. President Roosevelt won presidential contest in state over Wendell Willkie.

WORLD WAR II AND AFTER: NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1941-1952

I. Administration of Governor Broughton, 1941-1945.
  A. General Assembly of 1941.
    1. Increased appropriations to state agencies and public schools.
    2. Doubled support for vocational education.
    3. Made beginning for addition of twelfth grade in public schools.
    4. Increased salaries for public school teachers.
    5. Established pension and retirement system for state employees.
    6. Increased financial support to state institutions of higher learning.
    7. Created Twelfth Congressional District.
  B. Elections of 1942.
    1. Sen. Josiah Bailey was reelected.
    2. Voters elected solid Democratic delegation to Congress.
    3. Overwhelming majority of General Assembly was Democratic.
    4. Voters approved constitutional amendment centralizing authority over public schools in appointive State Board of Education.
  C. General Assembly of 1943.
    1. Emergency war powers granted governor and council of state.
    2. Provision made for nine-month school term.
    3. State school for delinquent Negro girls was authorized.
    4. Appropriations made to North Carolina Art Society and to North Carolina Symphony Society--first time any state gave aid to art and music.
    5. Provision made for unified administrative control of public schools, state correctional institutions, and state mental institutions.
    6. Further increased appropriations for schools and various state agencies without raising taxes.
  D. Governor Broughton took lead in working out plans for statewide medical program with goal of providing adequate medical care for every North Carolinian.
  E. America's involvement in World War II coincided with Broughton's term. North Carolina felt impact of war in many ways.
    1. Many military camps and stations were established in state. Among most important were the following:
      a. Fort Bragg was expanded.
      b. Camp Lejeune--marine base.
      c. Cherry Point--marine air base.
      d. Camp Butner and Camp Davis--infantry camps.
      e. Camp Mackall--airborne training center.
      f. Elizabeth City and Edenton had large air installations.
      g. Wilmington had naval receiving station.
    2. From state's population of 3.6 million, 362,000 North Carolinians, including 7,000 women, entered armed services. Of these, 4,088 were killed.
    3. War had large economic effect on state.
      a. Unemployment almost disappeared.
      b. Taxes, wages, and prices all rose.
      c. North Carolinians purchased $1.8 billion worth of U.S. savings bonds.
      d. Almost $2 billion were spent in North Carolina by armed forces for manufactured war supplies and materials.

- e. Leading war goods.
    - 1) Textile products.
    - 2) Tetraethyl lead.
    - 3) Mica.
    - 4) Lumber.
- F. Election of 1944.
  - 1. Governorship went to Gregg Cherry, who defeated Dr. Ralph McDonald for Democratic nomination and then defeated Republican Frank C. Patton in general election.
  - 2. Former Governor Hoey won Democratic nomination for U.S. senator over Cameron Morrison and defeated Republican A. L. Ferree in general election.
  - 3. President Roosevelt carried state for fourth time over Republican candidate Thomas E. Dewey.

II. Administration of Governor Cherry, 1945-1949.

- A. Large appropriations were made to state agencies and public schools.
- B. Five million dollars were earmarked for aid to World War II veterans.
- C. Three percent general sales tax was removed from some items.
- D. Tax on wines was sharply increased.
- E. New State Board of Education was set up and given control of school funds.
- F. Beginnings were made on four-year medical school and hospital at UNC at Chapel Hill and statewide system of hospitals, health centers, and clinics.
- G. Five-Year Hospital Plan, inaugurated in 1947, was virtually completed by 1953; 127 projects having been authorized at cost of $68 million in federal, state, and local funds.
- H. Election of 1948.
  - 1. W. Kerr Scott trailed Charles M. Johnson in first gubernatorial primary, with two other candidates finishing far behind.
  - 2. In second primary, Scott scored surprising victory over Johnson—218,000 votes to 183,000.
  - 3. Scott easily defeated Republican George M. Pritchard in general election.
  - 4. Former Governor Broughton won primary for U.S. senator over William B. Umstead, the man appointed to fill out term of Senator Bailey, who had died in office.
  - 5. President Truman carried state in presidential contest over Republican Thomas Dewey and States' Rights candidate Strom Thurmond.

III. Administration of Governor Scott, 1949-1953.

- A. Scott's "Go Forward" program.
  - 1. Voters agreed to bond issue of $200 million for secondary road construction. During Scott administration, state paved about 12,000 miles of secondary roads and stabilized over 15,000 miles for all-weather travel.
  - 2. Increased state tax on gasoline from 6 cents to 7 cents per gallon.
  - 3. Allocated $25 million to counties for construction and repair of school buildings.
  - 4. Legislature of 1949 appropriated unprecedented $401 million for biennium to operate state agencies and institutions.

5. Allocated about $73 million for buildings and other improvements at state institutions and agencies.
6. Authorized $7.5 million in bonds for construction and improvement of state's port facilities. Terminal facilities equipped to handle ocean shipping at Wilmington and Morehead City were completed by 1952.
7. North Carolina joined compact of southern states for development and maintenance of regional educational services in South in many fields.
8. UNC at Chapel Hill was authorized to establish standard dental school.

B. Desegregation of UNC.
   1. In 1951 Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed 1950 district court decision and ruled that blacks had to be admitted to UNC Law School if they met standard requirements.
   2. During summer and fall terms of 1951, Negroes were admitted to law, medical, and graduate schools at UNC.

C. Removal of Wake Forest University to Winston-Salem. President Truman made principal address at ground-breaking ceremony, 1951.

D. Contest for U.S. senator, 1950.
   1. In Democratic primary for U.S Senate seat left vacant by death of Senator Broughton, liberal Frank P. Graham was defeated by Willis Smith. Desegregation of public schools was significant issue.
   2. In general election Smith defeated his Republican opponent, and Sen. Clyde R. Hoey won reelection.

E. Many North Carolinians held office in Truman administration. Among more important ones were the following:
   1. Kenneth Royall, secretary of war, secretary of the army.
   2. Gordon Gray, secretary of the army.
   3. O. Max Gardner, under secretary of the treasury.
   4. James Webb, director of the budget, under secretary of the treasury.
   5. John S. Graham, assistant secretary of the treasury.
   6. Dan Edwards, assistant secretary of defense.
   7. T. Lamar Caudle, assistant attorney general.
   8. George Allen, ambassadorships to Iran, Yugoslavia, and India.
   9. Jonathan Daniels, briefly press secretary to president.

F. Election of 1952.
   1. In Democratic primary for governorship, William B. Umstead defeated Judge Hubert B. Olive, who had Governor Scott's support.
   2. Umstead easily defeated Republican H. F. Seawell, Jr., in November election.
   3. North Carolina's electoral votes in presidential contest went to Democrat Adlai Stevenson, although Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower won nationwide.

THE CONTINUING INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1930-1960s

I. Industry: North Carolina continued to be leading industrial state in Southeast.

- A. Trends and statistics.
    1. Total value of state's manufactures grew from $1.3 billion in 1930 to $15.1 billion in 1967. Growth was steady except for decline during Great Depression.
    2. North Carolina continued to rank first in nation in value of textile, tobacco, and furniture manufactures.
    3. While manufacturing in state continued to be decentralized, with large industrial plants located in all three major geographic regions, there was notable concentration in Piedmont and to less degree in Mountain region due to proximity of cheap labor and hydroelectric power.
    4. Total number of wage earners increased from 270,000 in 1939 to 468,000 in 1967.
- B. Textile manufactures continued as state's biggest industry.
    1. Statistics.
        - a. Value of textile manufactures grew from $459 million in 1930 to $5.9 billion in 1967.
        - b. Number of workers increased from 125,000 in 1930 to 257,000 in 1967.
        - c. Number of textile mills in state grew from 609 in 1940 to 1,262 in 1967.
    2. School of Textile Design at North Carolina State University developed into largest textile research department in nation.
    3. North Carolina continued to lead nation in manufacture of cotton goods. In this period it became leader also in nylon hosiery. Manufacture of synthetics (especially nylon, rayon, orlon, and dacron) and woolens increased rapidly after 1945.
        - a. Durham has largest hosiery mill in world.
        - b. American Enka Corporation, one of earliest and largest producers of rayon and nylon, began operation in 1939.
    4. Some northern mills established branches in state.
        - a. Dupont Dacron manufactured at Kinston.
        - b. Union Carbide Dynel at Eden.
    5. Consolidation of textile mills became trend.
        - a. Burlington Mills.
        - b. Cone Mills.
    6. Textile industry spread itself over wider geographic area.
    7. Mill villages were passing away, as owners began selling their "company houses" to employees.
- C. Tobacco products.
    1. For brief period in late 1920s, tobacco replaced textiles as leader in total value of products; but after 1939 textile industry was supreme.
    2. Statistics.
        - a. Value of tobacco manufactures increased from $413 million in 1927 to $2.5 billion in 1967. North Carolina by 1960s manufactured more than half of nation's tobacco products.
        - b. Number of workers increased from 16,500 in 1939 to 39,000 in 1959, but due to mechanization fell back to 27,300 in 1967.

3. Tobacco manufacturing concentrated in four cities and four gigantic companies.
    a. R. J. Reynolds, Winston-Salem.
    b. Liggett and Myers, Durham.
    c. American Tobacco Company, Reidsville.
    d. P. Lorillard, Greensboro.
4. Ecusta Corporation near Brevard manufactured most of cigarette paper in America.

D. Forest products.
1. Total value grew from $139 million in 1930 to $1.85 billion in 1967.
2. Furniture.
    a. Was leading branch of forest products industry throughout period except for early 1950s.
    b. Some companies began to manufacture upholstered as well as wooden furniture.
3. Other important forest products were lumber and paper.
    a. Champion Paper and Fiber Company at Canton was one of world's largest paper mills.
    b. Reigel Corporation in Acme manufactured great variety of paper products.

E. Other industries.
1. Food products, especially flour, bread, and butter.
2. Chemicals, notably fertilizers, medicines, and cottonseed oil.
3. Electrical machinery.
4. Printing and publishing.
5. Construction.
6. Tourist industry achieved most spectacular growth of all of state's industries. It had reached value of $802 million by 1970.

F. Mineral production and commercial fisheries continued to be significant industries, as they had been during early decades of century.

II. Economic and demographic trends.

A. Total estimated wealth of state rose from $682 million in 1900 to $4.7 billion in 1930 to $14.7 billion in 1969.

B. Per capita annual income rose from $255 in 1930 to $3,188 in 1970. Figure from 1970 was $722 below national per capita annual income.

C. In wage rates, state consistently ranked near bottom among states. In 1971 average hourly earnings of North Carolina's industrial workers was $2.54, compared to $3.49 for nation.

D. State's rate of population growth dropped sharply after 1930. Population increased from 3,170,276 in 1930 to 5,082,059 in 1970.

E. In 1950s many people began moving from North Carolina into other states.

F. Census of 1960 pointed out that great majority of North Carolinians were no longer "rural farm" people.
1. "Rural nonfarm" comprised 42.7 percent.
2. "Urban" comprised 39.5 percent.
3. "Rural farm" comprised only 17.8 percent.

G. Urban population increased from 25.8 percent in 1930 to 45 percent in 1970.

H. State's five largest cities in 1970.
1. Charlotte, 241,178.
2. Greensboro, 144,076.
3. Winston-Salem, 132,913.
4. Raleigh, 121,577.
5. Durham, 95,438.

I. Growing cities were centers of wealth, more diverse opportunity, education, culture, and political influence.

III. Banking and insurance.

A. Banking continued to expand in terms of deposits though number of banks declined.

1. In 1939 state had 41 national banks, 186 state banks, and about $400 million in deposits. In 1970 state had 22 national banks, 82 state banks, and total deposits of over $6 billion.

2. Wachovia Bank and Trust Company was largest bank in Southeast and thirty-ninth in nation.

B. Building and loan associations continued to prosper. In 1970 there were 180 such companies with over $3 billion in assets.

C. Insurance companies.

1. In 1969 there were 22 life insurance companies with home offices in North Carolina and 276 other companies doing business in state.

2. Six largest companies based in state.

a. Jefferson Standard.

b. Security Life and Trust.

c. Pilot Life.

d. State Capital.

e. Home Security Life.

f. Durham Life.

IV. Labor.

A. From 1929 to 1934 there were several serious labor disputes.

1. Strike at Gastonia, 1929.

a. Lagging wages and poor working conditions made many workers receptive to unionization.

b. Fred Beale of Communist-party-controlled National Textile Workers Union led efforts to organize Loray Mill, largest in area.

c. Strike collapsed quickly, as almost entire community turned against strikers due to presence of Communist party representatives among strike leaders.

d. Violence in aftermath of strike led to deaths of Police Chief F. O. Aderholt and of mill worker Ella May Wiggins, union's minstrel who sang protest ballads in mountain style.

e. In trials that gained national attention, Beale and six others were given long prison terms for murder of Aderholt. No one was convicted for slaying of Wiggins, although nine people were tried and acquitted.

2. Strike at Marion, 1929.

a. Textile workers struck against low wages and against working and living conditions so bad that Federal Council of Churches investigator could only describe them as "unbelievable."

1) Shift was twelve hours, work week sixty hours.

2) Children worked illegally.

3) Wages of $8 to $10 per week were typical.

4) "Stretch-out"--requiring workers to man excessive number of machines--was introduced in crudest fashion.

5) Girls worked first thirty days for nothing followed by four months at 5 cents per hour.

    b. Strike failed when troops were brought in. Managers agreed orally to cut hours to fifty-five per week and rehire most strikers without discrimination. Mill management later violated agreement.
    c. Attempt to strike again led to confrontation between strikers and sheriff with his deputies, culminating in deaths of six strikers.
    d. In controversial trial, sheriff and his deputies were acquitted on grounds of self-defense.
3. Strikes occurred in 1932 at several cotton mills in High Point, Rockingham, and other places due to drastic wage cuts and difficult working conditions.
    a. Strikers had sympathy of considerable part of their communities, unlike Gastonia strikers of 1929.
    b. Strikers achieved some success at High Point but none in other places.
4. General textile strike of Labor Day, 1934.
    a. Some 65,000 workers of almost 100 textile mills in North Carolina joined in strike under leadership of United Textile Workers (U.T.W.).
    b. Strike was as of that time "the greatest single industrial conflict in the history of American organized labor."
    c. Although there was violence in other states, there was little if any in North Carolina.
    d. Board of inquiry into textile industry recommended that U.T.W. call off strike and all in all prescribed little of tangible benefit for strikers. U.T.W. ordered strikers back to work, having sustained crushing defeat.
    e. Despite President Roosevelt's plea that textile firms take back strikers, they practiced wholesale discrimination in rehiring.

B. During two decades of Democratic leadership at national level, 1933-1953, North Carolina's labor movement was greatly stimulated by federal laws and agencies. National Labor Relations Board, for instance, had power to order reinstatement of discharged workers, to issue "cease and desist orders" against employers, and to conduct hearings.

C. By 1930s State Department of Labor was rendering valuable services.
1. Collected labor statistics.
2. Sought to settle strikes and other industrial conflicts.
3. Directed public employment service.
4. Gave aid to unemployed children of working age and to deaf and blind persons.
5. Assisted war veterans in their claims for disability compensation and hospitalization.
6. Inspected factories, stores, and other places.
7. Administered Workmen's Compensation Act through Industrial Commission.
8. Enforced other labor legislation.

D. Growth of organized labor after 1936.
1. In 1937 Committee on Industrial Organization, headed by John L. Lewis, began aggressive drive to unionize southern textile industry; and many unions were successfully organized in North Carolina.

2. Active intervention of New Deal administration brought several changes to state's labor scene.
    a. Unionization was greatly facilitated.
    b. Cessation of use of state troops in strikes.
    c. Peaceful collective bargaining became common, and violent strikes were rare.
    d. Influence of labor grew at expense of management, which became less paternalistic and autocratic.
3. State's political leaders were frequently unsympathetic to labor policies of FDR and Truman.
    a. General Assembly rejected proposed Child Labor Amendment to Constitution.
    b. In 1947 legislature rejected mild wages and hours bill and made it illegal to enter into labor contract providing for closed shop, union shop, checkoff of union dues, or maintenance of union membership.
4. Although organized labor continued to make headway after World War II, vast majority of state's labor force remained unorganized through 1960s.
    a. In 1953 some 83,800 workers were union members.
    b. By 1968 figure had grown to 124,000, but this represented only 7.5 percent of total industrial labor force.
5. As of 1970s North Carolina industrial workers were still paid lowest average wages of fifty states, and state was also the least unionized in nation.

AGRICULTURE, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1930-1960s

I. Agriculture.
A. Trends from 1930 to 1950.
1. Number of farms and farmers increased.
2. Total production and per acre yield decreased, especially in cotton and tobacco.
3. Production of cattle and poultry increased.
4. Tenancy became much less common.
B. Turning point in state's agricultural history: striking changes occurred in 1950s.
1. Number of farms declined rapidly and size of farms increased greatly.
2. Tremendous gains in mechanization.
3. Marked trend toward large-scale agriculture.
4. Decline of tenancy: percentage of state's farms operated by tenants declined from 49 percent in 1940 to 27.1 percent in 1964.
5. Great increase in value of farms.
C. In 1970 17.7 percent of state's population was classified as "rural farm." North Carolina had second largest number of farms in nation (148,202), exceeded only by Texas.
D. Crops.
1. Tobacco: from 1930 to 1960s tobacco was "king" in North Carolina agriculture.
a. Production increased from 454 million pounds in 1930 to 815 million in 1969.
b. North Carolina produced about two fifths of nation's tobacco in this era--chiefly bright-leaf, flue-cured tobacco used to make cigarettes and pipe tobacco.
c. Cash income was consistently greater than all other crops combined.
d. Chief areas of production.
1. Old Bright Belt--northern Piedmont.
2. New Bright Belt--central Coastal Plain.
3. South Carolina Belt--border counties in Coastal Plain.
4. Burley Belt--in mountains.
2. Cotton.
a. World overproduction and falling prices led to vast reduction in cotton acreage and yield in late 1920s and early 1930s.
b. Production dropped from high of 740,000 bales in 1948 to only 160,000 bales in 1970.
c. North Carolina seemed destined for decreasing role in cotton production.
3. Corn continued as state's third major crop, grown mainly as food and feed rather than as money crop.
4. Other cash crops.
a. Peanuts.
b. Hay.
c. Soybeans.
d. Irish potatoes.
e. Sweet potatoes.
f. Fruits and vegetables.
E. State's farmers began to diversify by increasing production of livestock.

   1. Cattle.
   2. Poultry and eggs.
   3. Hogs.

F. Cash income from agriculture grew from $329 million in 1940 to $1.4 billion in 1970.

G. Migrant labor.
   1. With decline of tenancy, many farm owners began to depend on migrant labor during growing and harvesting seasons.
   2. In mid-1960s it was estimated that 10,000 to 13,000 migrant workers were employed in state each year.
   3. Tobacco farms and truck farms were most frequent employers of migrant labor.
   4. Most migrants were southern blacks, but by 1960s they had been joined by many Spanish-speaking whites.

H. Federal government provided much aid to farmers.
   1. Loans and "benefit payments" for limiting acreage.
   2. Aid to North Carolina State University in its agricultural and extension work.
   3. Aid to supplement state and local funds for vocational education in agriculture, home economics, trade and industries in public schools.
   4. North Carolina Rural Electrification Authority, created in 1935, brought electricity to farms.
   5. U.S. Department of Agriculture performed many services.
      a. Supplied information on farm problems.
      b. Operated test farms.
      c. Worked on extermination of pests.
      d. Analyzed foods, feeds, fertilizers, seeds, and soil.
      e. Inspected fruit trees offered for sale.
      f. Maintained record of leaf tobacco sales.

I. Some factors in progress of twentieth century North Carolina agriculture.
   1. Heavy use of fertilizer.
   2. Mechanization.
   3. Careful seed selection.
   4. Crop rotation.
   5. Improved planning.
   6. Terracing.

J. Means by which state's farmers learned new techniques.
   1. State and federal government agencies.
   2. County agents.
   3. Home demonstration agents.
   4. 4-H clubs.
   5. Future Farmers of America.
   6. Radio and television programs.
   7. Farm journals, especially The Progressive Farmer.

K. Developments which, along with increased production and income, helped broaden the farmer's social and intellectual horizon and decrease his isolation.
   1. Consolidated public schools.
   2. Telephone.
   3. Automobiles and good roads.
   4. Rural free delivery.
   5. Radio and television.
   6. Electricity.

II. Transportation, communication, and trade.

A. Development of highways continued after 1920s.

1. As of 1949 there were about 10,000 miles in state highway system and about 51,000 miles of county roads maintained by state, of which about 15,000 miles were hard surfaced.
2. By 1971 state highway system included about 73,000 miles, of which about 49,000 were paved. There were also over 500 miles of interstate highway.
3. Other improvements in addition to increased mileage.
   a. More and better bridges.
   b. Relocation of roads along better routes.
   c. Underpasses and overpasses eliminated many railroad grade crossings.
4. In this era North Carolina was only state which maintained all public roads without resort to state tax on property. Revenues for roads came from automobile, bus, and truck licenses, from gasoline taxes, and from federal sources.

B. Bus and freight lines.
1. In 1971 state had 60 regulated motor passenger carriers operating 1,838 buses, and there were 16,090 trucks registered with State Utilities Commission.
2. North Carolina's trucking industry has been especially active.
   a. In 1954 it was fourth largest in nation.
   b. McLean Trucking Company was one of top ten in nation.

C. Railroads.
1. Became relatively less important than they had been in era before automobiles and airplanes.
2. Total track mileage in 1970 was 4,349.
3. In 1967 Atlantic Coast Line and Seaboard Air Line systems merged to form Seaboard Coast Line.

D. State's ports, especially Wilmington and Morehead City, underwent development with aid of state government.

E. Air transportation became important in 1940s. By 1960 six regularly scheduled commercial air lines served state.

F. Improvements in communication have been dramatic. Examples include the following:
1. Telephone.
2. Television: by 1971 North Carolina had 18 commercial television stations and 2 noncommercial ones.
3. Radio: by 1971 state had 231 commercial and 7 noncommercial radio stations.

G. Trade: by 1950s North Carolina had become the leading state in South Atlantic region in wholesale and retail trade.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1930s-1960s

I. Public schools.
A. Trends from 1933 to 1955.
1. Increasing state government expenditures for operation of public schools.
2. Increases in teachers' salaries.
3. Value of school property rose.
4. Volumes in public school libraries grew from 1.5 million to 5 million.
B. Rapid progress: 1955-1960s.
1. Public school property, in terms of buildings and equipment, increased in value from $480 million in 1955 to $1.2 billion in 1969-1970.
2. Facts concerning public schools, based on school year 1971-1972.
a. State had 2,054 public schools, of which 1,546 were elementary and 508 were high schools.
b. Number of pupils was 1.2 million.
c. Number of teachers was 52,000.
d. Average annual salary for teachers was $8,604.
e. Average daily attendance was 1.1 million.
f. North Carolina had one of best school bus systems in nation.
3. Statistics on financing public schools from school year 1970-1971.
a. Expense of public schools amounted to $725 million, of which about two thirds came from state funds and remainder from local and federal.
b. Per pupil expenditure was $663.
c. Three major sources of state public school funds.
1) Income taxes, 43 percent.
2) Sales tax, 30 percent.
3) Franchise taxes, 6 percent.
d. About 88 percent of local funds for schools came from property taxes.
C. Recent significant innovations.
1. Special training for physically handicapped pupils.
2. Lunch program for over 1,600 schools.
3. Public school insurance program.
4. School health program.

II. State-supported institutions of higher learning.
A. UNC: emergence of "Consolidated University."
1. Frank P. Graham was president, 1930-1949.
2. "Consolidated University of North Carolina" was created out of main campus at Chapel Hill, North Carolina College of Agriculture and Engineering at Raleigh, and Woman's College at Greensboro.
3. At all three schools, period from 1930s through 1960s was marked by proliferation of courses and additions of departments, schools, and divisions.
4. Expansion of UNC system.
a. Charlotte campus was added in 1965.
b. Campuses at Asheville and Wilmington were added in 1969.
5. As of 1970 more than 45,000 students were enrolled in "Consolidated University," including 18,000 at Chapel Hill and 13,000 at Raleigh.
B. System of regional universities developed out of state's four-year colleges.

1. General Assembly of 1967 created four regional universities.
    a. East Carolina at Greenville.
    b. Western Carolina at Cullowhee.
    c. Appalachian State at Boone.
    d. North Carolina Agricultural and Technical University at Greensboro.
2. In 1969 five more were added to system.
    a. Pembroke State at Pembroke.
    b. North Carolina Central at Durham.
    c. Elizabeth City State.
    d. Fayetteville State.
    e. Winston-Salem State.
3. Total enrollment in 1970-1971 was about 35,000 with East Carolina having 10,000 of that number.

III. Private institutions of higher learning.
- A. Duke University continued to develop and expand.
    1. Duke University Hospital and Medical School became widely known.
    2. Duke University Library had over 2.1 million volumes in 1970 and was largest library in Southeast.
- B. Wake Forest College.
    1. In 1940s college was beneficiary of several large bequests, including one which led to establishment of its medical school.
    2. College began operation at new site in Winston-Salem in 1956.
    3. In 1967 it achieved university status.
- C. Other church-related colleges.
    1. Leading examples:
        a. Davidson.
        b. Meredith.
        c. Greensboro.
        d. Elon.
        e. Guilford.
        f. Catawba.
        g. Lenoir Rhyne.
        h. North Carolina Wesleyan.
        i. St. Andrews.
    2. Trends, 1930s-1960s.
        a. Increasing endowments.
        b. Greater diversity of courses.
        c. Expanding student bodies.
        d. Expanding physical facilities.
- D. In 1971 there were twenty-nine senior nonpublic colleges and universities with total enrollment of about 39,000.

IV. Rapid growth of two-year community colleges and technical institutes occurred in latter part of this period.
- A. In 1972 there were thirty-nine technical institutes and seventeen community colleges in operation. State appropriation for them, 1972-1973, was $58 million. Enrollment in 1970 was 294,000.
- B. Several two-year junior colleges soon converted to four-year senior colleges.
    1. Pfeiffer.
    2. Mars Hill.
    3. Campbell.

V. Expansion of public libraries occurred after 1935.
- A. Situation in 1937.

   1. There were twelve county and seventy city public libraries with about 800,000 books and circulation of about four million. There were also nine Negro public libraries.
   2. However, no public library met American Library Association's minimum standards, and 54 percent of state's population was without library service.

B. Situation in 1970 was greatly improved.
   1. There were 313 libraries, including 15 regional, 53 county, 34 municipal, and 211 branch.
   2. Number of volumes was 5.7 million and total circulation 14 million.
   3. All of state's population had access to library.

C. North Carolina State Library was formed in 1956 from merger of Library Commission and State Library.

VI. Newspapers experienced decrease in number, increase in size and circulation, and improvement in quality.
   A. Statistics.
      1. In 1939 there were 227 newspapers, including 41 dailies.
      2. In 1971 there were 179 newspapers, of which 131 were weeklies or semiweeklies, and 48 dailies.
   B. Newspapers with leading circulation.
      1. Dailies.
         a. Charlotte Observer.
         b. Raleigh News and Observer.
         c. Greensboro Daily News.
      2. Weeklies.
         a. Asheboro Courier-Tribune.
         b. Smithfield Herald.
         c. Stanly News and Press.

VII. Book publishing.
   A. State had two outstanding publishers of scholarly books.
      1. Duke University Press.
      2. UNC Press.
   B. Leading commercial publishers.
      1. John F. Blair of Winston-Salem.
      2. Heritage Printers of Charlotte.

VIII. North Carolina writers.
   A. Nonfiction: many outstanding volumes, both scholarly and popular, in fields of history, biography, sociology, literary history and criticism, science, education, and religion were written by North Carolinians during 1930s-1960s.
   B. Novelists.
      1. Thomas Wolfe of Look Homeward Angel fame was most renowned.
      2. Betty Smith wrote best-selling A Tree Grows in Brooklyn.
      3. Inglis Fletcher wrote many novels relating to North Carolina history.
      4. Reynolds Price won William Faulkner Award for year's outstanding first novel with A Long and Happy Life, 1962, and continued to write novels, stories, and essays.
      5. Others.
         a. James Boyd.
         b. Bernice Kelly Harris.
         c. Robert Ruark.

d. James Street.
e. Doris Betts.
f. Frances Grey Patton.
g. Ovid Pierce.

C. Poets.
1. Two famous poets, Carl Sandburg and Randall Jarrell, adopted North Carolina as their home.
2. Others.
a. James Larkin Pearson.
b. Guy Owen.
c. Sam Ragan.

D. Dramatists.
1. Paul Green won Pulitzer Prize in 1927 for *In Abraham's Bosom*.
2. Kermit Hunter wrote *Unto These Hills* and *Horn in the West*.

E. Folklore.
1. Several writers published works on folklore. *Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore* (7 volumes) was outstanding work.
2. *North Carolina Folklore*, scholarly journal, was founded in 1948.
3. Two state organizations to promote folklore were formed.
a. North Carolina Folklore Society.
b. North Carolina Folklore Council.

IX. Art.
A. North Carolina Art Society, led by Mrs. Katherine Pendleton Arrington, helped make state's citizens more aware of art.
B. In 1929 General Assembly placed Art Society under patronage and control of state.
C. State Art Gallery opened in 1943 in Raleigh.
D. General Assembly of 1947 appropriated $1 million for purchase of paintings for proposed state art museum.
E. State Art Commission was appointed and funded in 1951 for purpose of buying paintings.
F. North Carolina Museum of Art opened in Raleigh in 1956.

X. Music.
A. North Carolina Symphony organized by Dr. Benjamin Swalin.
B. Transylvania Music Camp at Brevard.
C. Grass Roots Opera Company.
D. North Carolina Civic Ballet Company.
E. Folk festivals sponsored by Bascom Lamar Lunsford.

XI. Church membership.
A. In 1960 total church membership was 2.4 million, which was about 53 percent of state's population.
B. Leading denominations:
1. Baptists--50 percent.
2. Methodists--26 percent.
3. Presbyterians--8 percent.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1952-1965

I. Crisis of early 1950s.
   A. State's industry continued to grow, but North Carolina was losing ground relative to other states.
   B. In per capita income, state was also losing ground relatively.
   C. Migration out of state was increasing.
   D. Agricultural income was leveling off.
   E. Demand for government services grew faster than tax receipts.

II. Administration of Gov. William B. Umstead, 1953-1954.
   A. General Assembly of 1953 authorized issuance of $14.25 million in state bonds for permanent improvements at institutions of higher learning, correctional and charitable institutions and departments.
   B. It authorized special election on $50 million bond issue to aid counties in construction of school buildings and on $22 million bond issue for permanent improvements at mental institutions. Voters approved both bond issues.
   C. Legislature passed joint resolution providing that governor appoint Commission on Higher Education to study all state-supported institutions of higher education and make recommendations for their improvement.
   D. Integration question.
      1. U.S. Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawed racial segregation in public schools.
      2. State Board of Education in summer of 1954 voted to continue segregation for school year 1954-1955. Committee was appointed to study legal aspects of problem.
      3. Governor Umstead appointed nineteen member committee headed by Thomas J. Pearsall and including three Negroes to study integration question and make recommendations.
   E. Umstead died in office in November, 1954, and was succeeded by Lt. Gov. Luther Hodges.

III. Elections of 1954.
   A. Former Gov. W. Kerr Scott gained Democratic nomination for U.S. Senate by defeating Alton A. Lennon, who had been appointed upon death of Sen. Willis Smith. Scott defeated his Republican opponent in November.
   B. Sam J. Ervin, who had been appointed to U.S. Senate at death of Sen. Clyde R. Hoey, was elected without opposition to fill out remaining two years of Hoey's term.

IV. First administration of Governor Hodges, 1954-1957.
   A. General Assembly of 1955.
      1. Made minor changes in tax structure.
      2. Created several new state agencies, most important one being nine-member State Board of Higher Education, which was recommended in report of Commission on Higher Education.
      3. Passed enabling act calling for referendum on question of whether state retirement system should be combined with Federal Old Age and Survivors Insurance of Social Security system. Change was overwhelmingly approved in November.

4. Changes in school laws in response to integration crisis.
   a. Elimination of any reference to race in school laws.
   b. Transfer of authority over enrollment and assignment of pupils from State Board of Education to local boards.
   c. Transfer of ownership, operation, and control of state's school buses to local units.
   d. Substitution of yearly contracts for teachers and principals instead of continuing contracts.
5. General Assembly passed resolution stating that integration could not be accomplished and "if attempted would alienate public support of the schools to such an extent that they could not be operated successfully."

B. Continued controversy on integration question.
   1. In August, 1955, Hodges urged the people to "avoid defiance or evasion of the opinion of the United States Supreme Court" by having their children "voluntarily attend separate public schools."
   2. Many of state's newspapers praised Hodges' statement, but NAACP denounced it.
   3. In late August, 1955, "Patriots of North Carolina"--all white organization aimed at maintaining "the purity of the white race and of Anglo-Saxon institutions"--was formed.
   4. Public schools opened in September, 1955, without serious incidents and also still completely segregated.
   5. In fall, 1955, three black graduates of Durham High School were admitted as undergraduates to UNC at Chapel Hill--first in school's 160-year history. Event took place following ruling by three federal judges that university must consider applications without regard to race.

C. Research Triangle.
   1. Governor Hodges led efforts beginning in 1955 to develop state and regional center of industrial, governmental, and academic research laboratories.
   2. Efforts culminated in Research Triangle, with Chapel Hill, Durham, and Raleigh forming Triangle's points.
   3. By 1961 start had been made.
      a. Five-thousand-acre Research Park had been established in middle of Triangle.
      b. Chemstrand Corporation had located its main research center there.
      c. U.S. Forestry Service built laboratory.
      d. Research Triangle Institute, contract research organization, had been established.

D. Democratic primaries of 1956.
   1. Hodges easily won nomination for governorship.
   2. Ervin easily won nomination for U.S. senator.
   3. Four of state's congressional districts experienced bitter contests in which Southern Manifesto, urging resistance to integration, was issue. In general, backers of the Southern Manifesto defeated their opponents, as only one nonsigner of Manifesto won nomination.

E. Special session of General Assembly--July, 1956.
   1. Purpose was to cope with integration question.
   2. Main action was proposed constitutional amendment recommended by "Pearsall Committee."
      a. "Pearsall Plan" would enable parents who did not want their children going to integrated schools to withdraw them and receive private tuition grants from state.

b. Voters approved amendment by wide margin at special election.
c. Little came of plan, and it was declared unconstitutional by federal court in 1966.

F. Election of 1956.
1. Hodges won governorship over Republican Kyle Hayes by vote of 760,000 to 375,000.
2. Democrat Adlai Stevenson barely carried state over President Eisenhower—591,000 votes to 575,000.
3. Democrats carried state, electing all state officials and eleven of twelve representatives in Congress.

V. Governor Hodges's second administration, 1957-1961.

A. General Assembly of 1957.
1. Moved toward reorganization of government.
a. Created Department of Administration, consisting of Budget Division and Purchase and Contract Division.
b. Director of General Services replaced Board of Public Buildings and Grounds.
c. Seven-member State Highway Commission replaced State Highway and Public Works Commission.
d. Prison system was separated from Highway Department and established as State Prison Department.
2. Many changes in tax laws were made to ease taxes of multistate corporations. Partly due to these changes and to extensive advertising campaign, new industries worth over $100 million had been brought to state by end of 1957.

B. Elections of 1958.
1. B. Everett Jordan, who had been appointed to U.S. Senate following death of W. Kerr Scott, overwhelmingly won race for U.S. senator.
2. Democrats won eleven of twelve seats in national House of Representatives.

C. North Carolina recovered rapidly from recession of 1957-1958, as Hodges's program to attract industry gained momentum.
1. Many new industries were established, and old ones expanded.
2. Industrial investment in state reached unprecedented high.
3. There was marked development of food processing and other industries related to agriculture.
4. Spectacular expansion occurred in electronics and chemicals.

D. General Assembly of 1959.
1. Proposed several bond issues for capital improvements which were approved by voters.
a. Total amount involved was over $34 million.
b. Over half was for higher educational institutions; over one third was for state mental institutions.
c. Remainder was for community colleges, state hospitals, state ports, state training schools, and state rehabilitation center for blind.
2. Provided for construction of legislative building.
3. Passed minimum hourly wage law setting wage at 75 cents for employees in companies hiring more than five people. North Carolina was first state in Southeast to enact minimum wage law.
4. Made polio vaccination for children compulsory. North Carolina was first state in nation to do so.
5. Despite adoption of largest budget in state's history up to that time, $2.1 billion, legislature passed no new taxes.

E. Elections of 1960.
   1. Integration of schools was major issue in Democratic primaries for governor.
   2. In first Democratic primary for governor, Terry Sanford led I. Beverly Lake, 269,000 votes to 182,000, with two other candidates receiving about 100,000 votes apiece.
   3. In second primary Sanford defeated Lake, an outspoken opponent of integration, by vote of 352,000 to 276,000.
   4. In general election Sanford defeated Republican Robert L. Gavin by vote of 735,000 to 614,000.
   5. Democrats won all major state offices, again won eleven of twelve seats in national House of Representatives, and maintained control of General Assembly.
   6. Democrat John F. Kennedy defeated Republican Richard M. Nixon in state's presidential contest--713,000 votes to 656,000.

VI. Integration in North Carolina, 1957-1961.
   A. Public schools.
      1. North Carolina became first state in Southeast to move voluntarily toward integration when school boards in Charlotte, Winston-Salem, and Greensboro voted in July, 1957, to admit twelve Negro pupils to formerly all-white schools. These same schools admitted several additional black pupils in 1958.
      2. In 1959 Craven and Wayne counties admitted blacks to formerly all-white schools.
      3. As of October, 1959, some fifty-four Negro pupils were attending integrated schools in seven cities and towns.
      4. Chapel Hill, Durham, and several other towns and counties admitted blacks to their formerly all-white schools in 1960.
      5. By 1961 there were more than 200 black students in desegregated schools in North Carolina.
   B. By 1961, mainly due to pressure by federal government, segregation had been eliminated on many buses, trains, airplanes, and at many bus terminals, railway stations, and airports.
   C. Eating places and theaters.
      1. One of earliest lunch counter sit-in demonstrations in South was carried out by several young black students at Woolworth's in Greensboro on February 1, 1960.
      2. Sit-ins continued and spread across state. Most were peaceful and without incident, though some arrests were made under state trespass law.
      3. Many lunch counters began to serve on integrated basis. Others discontinued lunch counter service or operated on stand-up basis. Still others, especially in small towns, continued segregation.
      4. Many theaters were picketed, and some, especially in Piedmont cities, did away with segregation.
   D. Civil rights movement, led by NAACP and CORE, got under way stressing voting and voter registration. As of 1960 they had made little progress, with only about 30 percent of potential nonwhite voters registered.

VII. Administration of Gov. Terry Sanford, 1961-1965.
   A. General Assembly of 1961 enacted more far-reaching legislation than any other session in twentieth century.
      1. Many changes were made in state's administrative machinery.

   a. Ten new state agencies created.
   b. Three boards established relating to existing agencies.
   c. Three agencies were abolished.
   d. Many agencies underwent some statutory change, ranging from complete reorganization to gaining or losing a board member.

2. Governor Sanford's campaign had stressed "quality education," and legislature made large appropriations for education.
   a. Appropriated $461 million for public schools, which made possible a 21.8 percent increase in teachers' salaries.
   b. Appropriated $61 million for higher education.
3. About $44 million was appropriated to state mental institutions.
4. To finance program, all exemptions including food were removed from 3 percent sales tax, except for some special items such as prescription drugs and school books.
5. Legislature also submitted to voters proposal that $61.5 million in capital improvement bonds be issued.
   a. Half was to be spent on educational institutions. Almost one fourth would go to state ports.
   b. Other funds were to be spent on mental institutions, state government buildings, community colleges, correctional schools, and new building for State Library and Department of Archives and History.
   c. In November, 1961, voters overwhelmingly defeated entire bond issue proposal.
6. Additional 19,000 workers brought under state minimum wage law.
7. Stringent law against gamblers and point-fixers in athletic contests was passed.
8. State House of Representatives was reapportioned. Efforts to reapportion state Senate failed.
9. Due to state's loss of one seat in national House of Representatives, General Assembly created new Eighth Congressional District, gerrymandering it in effort to insure defeat of Charles R. Jonas, North Carolina's only Republican in Congress.
10. General Assembly adopted six proposed constitutional amendments, which were approved by the people in referendum of November, 1962.
    a. "Court reform" amendment made significant changes in state's judicial system.
       1) Set up General Court of Justice which would be unified judicial system consisting of three divisions.
          a) Appellate division.
          b) Superior Court division.
          c) District Court division.
       2) Judges of district courts were to be elected to four-year terms.
       3) One or more magistrates for each county would be appointed by senior resident judges upon nomination by clerk of superior court. Magistrates would serve two-year terms.
    b. Procedure was established for automatic reapportionment of state's House of Representatives by Speaker after each federal census.
    c. Third amendment clarified constitutional provisions controlling succession to offices of governor and lieutenant governor in event of death, resignation, removal from office, or temporary incapacity.

    d. General Assembly was given authority to reduce residence requirement for voting in presidential elections.
    e. General Assembly was authorized to fix and regulate salaries of elective state officers constituting Council of State and Executive Department.
    f. Final amendment clarified legislature's powers to provide for uniform, statewide classification and exemption of property for purposes of taxation.
B. Trade and industry.
  1. Governor Sanford continued effort begun by his predecessor to attract industry to state and to increase trade.
    a. Extensive public relations campaign.
    b. North Carolina Trade Fair at Charlotte, 1961.
  2. Results of effort as of late 1961.
    a. Increase in research activities in Research Triangle.
    b. Investments in new industries and expansions in 1961 reached record high of $279 million--increase of $44 million over preceding year.
    c. Shipments through state ports of Wilmington and Morehead City reached all-time high in 1961 of $1.135 million, almost double revenues of four years earlier.
C. North Carolinians filled many high federal posts in Kennedy administration. Outstanding examples include the following:
  1. Luther Hodges, secretary of commerce.
  2. Voit Gilmore, director of U.S. Travel Service.
  3. J. Spencer Bell, judge of Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals.
D. Elections of 1962: Republican upsurge.
  1. Two Republicans were elected to national House of Representatives.
    a. Charles R. Jonas won in new Eighth District, where A. Paul Kitchen was defeated. Effort to gerrymander Jonas out of Congress failed.
    b. James T. Broyhill won in Ninth Congressional District.
  2. Republicans boosted strength in state's House of Representatives to twenty-one seats.
  3. GOP showed strength in many counties, especially in Piedmont.
E. General Assembly of 1963.
  1. Was first to meet in new legislative building.
  2. Increased teachers' salaries.
  3. Provided for establishment of state system of community colleges, industrial education centers, and technical institutes.
  4. Changed name and status of three branches of UNC:
    a. Original university became UNC at Chapel Hill.
    b. Woman's College became UNC at Greensboro.
    c. Raleigh campus became North Carolina State University.
  5. Three state-supported, two-year colleges--Asheville, Wilmington, and Charlotte--were made into four-year colleges.
  6. Most controversial action was passage of "Speaker Ban Law," which provided that no state-supported college or university could allow its facilities to be used by a speaker who was Communist party member; advocate of overthrow of U.S. or state of North Carolina; who had pleaded the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer any question concerning Communist or subversive activities.
F. Elections of 1964.
  1. In first Democratic primary for governorship, Judge Richardson Preyer ran first, receiving 281,000 votes. Former Judge Dan

K. Moore was second with 258,000 votes. I. Beverly Lake was third with 217,000.

2. In second primary Moore defeated Preyer, who had Governor Sanford's support, 480,000 votes to 294,000.
3. In general election Moore defeated Republican Robert L. Gavin, 790,000 votes to 606,000.
4. Pres. Lyndon Johnson defeated Republican Barry Goldwater in state's presidential balloting, 800,000 votes to 625,000.

APPENDIX I

THE NATURE OF THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE ARCHIVES

by Paul P. Hoffman

The records and manuscripts that comprise the North Carolina State Archives fall into three broad groups: records of the colony and state of North Carolina; records of the counties and municipalities of North Carolina; and manuscripts and records whose origin is other than governmental but that relate in some way to the history and development of North Carolina and that are designated as private collections. Together these three groups of records and manuscripts document all facets of the history of the state from early colonial days to the present. The amount and quality of documentation for this broad time span, however, is uneven and as variable as were the individuals who created the documentation.

Prior to the Treaty of Paris, 1783, records created in the course of the conduct of governmental business were theoretically the property of the proprietors or the British crown and were regularly shipped back to England when their active purpose had been served in the colony. By terms of the 1783 treaty, those records remaining in the former colony became the property of the new state. For many years the Division of Archives and History has employed an agent in England to copy official records in British repositories relating to North Carolina. These copies are available at the State Archives and are continually being supplemented since the program is an ongoing one.

Documentation of all activities and subjects appearing in the outline should exist in the archives. Archives exist for the purpose of maintaining the recorded documentation of governmental and human activity, and absence of such documentation suggests human failure on the part of the record creator or keeper or accident in the form of records destruction. Except for several counties where fires have destroyed records and some loss of records due to war, any gaps in the recorded history of the state and counties of North Carolina are due to human error. Fortunately such gaps are rare in this state, and most of the important records documenting the history of North Carolina have survived.

The only limitation placed on the scope of the North Carolina State Archives is that accessioned material must relate in some manner to North Carolina. There is no limitation on the subjects which may be encompassed nor the human activities which may be documented. The state, in its sovereign capacity, has the power to honor and place accolades upon its most outstanding citizens, on the one hand, and to condemn, incarcerate, or execute (according to due process of law) those less fortunate. These extremes of human experience as well as those between are documented in the State Archives. The vast majority of governmental records are impersonal and businesslike in nature, usually reflecting business intercourse between people who do not know each other. On the other extreme, the general nature of a "private collection" is intimate and personal, often consisting of the general letters of a family such as those of a husband and wife or a parent and child. The character of a governmental record is different from the private manuscript, but together they reflect and document all life experiences both publicly formal and privately informal.

Nearly all of the records and manuscripts in the archives are available for consultation. A few series of records are restricted from use by statute law, a few by the common law (privileged communications), and a few by administrative fiat. The reason for the restriction in most cases is for the protection of the privacy of the individual or the beneficial interests of the state. The donors of several private collections have restricted public access to them for varying periods of time and for various reasons.

To aid a researcher, three general guides to the three broad categories of records and manuscripts have been prepared: *Summary Guide to Research Materials in the North Carolina State Archives, Section A: Records of the State Agencies*, 1963, is a listing of records, by records series, that were in the archives at the time of preparation of the guide. This *Guide* is out of date and currently out of print. *Guide to Research Materials in the North Carolina State Archives, Section B: County Records*, revised 1977, is a listing by records series of all local records in the archives and available on microfilm. Beth Crabtree, *A Guide to Private Manuscript Collections in the North Carolina State Archives*, 1964, is a listing and abstract of 1,175 private collections with a valuable index which also serves as a subject index to the private collections. This *Guide* is presently being updated and expanded to include all private collections now in the archives. In addition, numerous highly specialized and very specific finding aids have been prepared for many groups of records and manuscripts and are available in the State Archives Search Room.

THE RECORDS OF THE COLONY AND STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

The records of the colony and state of North Carolina are created in a variety of ways and document activities instituted according to crown decree, constitutional mandate, statutory mandate, or administrative prerogative in the execution of these mandates.

The Legislative Papers, dating from the late seventeenth century to the present, reflect all aspects of the legislative process in the colony and state of North Carolina. They contain information about a wide range of subjects but unfortunately are difficult for a researcher to use due to the absence of an adequate finding aid. Court records of the various colonial and state higher courts are in the archives, are relatively easy to research, and are thoroughly described in finding aids. Of particular research value are the records of the Supreme Court: Original Cases, 1800-1909, for which a comprehensive name index has been prepared. These records are probably the easiest to research of the major archival groups because of the extensive finding aids available. It must be borne in mind that the concept and practice of higher courts as arbiters of constitutional review is fairly recent and will not be found until its developmental maturity in the first quarter of the nineteenth century as a function of the Supreme Court of North Carolina.

Governors' records of the colony and state are more voluminous than those of the other two branches of government, and they document the full scope of government operating in its sovereign capacity. Most of the papers of the colonial governors that have survived are in the Public Record Office in England where they were placed as the property of the

British crown, but a few documents for the years 1694 to 1776 are in the archives. Some governors' papers for the late colonial period were captured and confiscated by the new state when it declared independence from Great Britain. Copies of many of the colonial governors' papers have been obtained from British repositories and are contained in two collections in the archives entitled "British Records" and "English Records." From independence in 1776 until the present the public records of the state governors are continuous and serve as the documentation of the functions of the governor and the governor's office. There are no major gaps in this group of records, and as a body these records are about equal in historical value to the legislative papers. The governors' papers are thoroughly described in a variety of finding aids and are relatively easy for researchers to use.

The Office of Secretary of State developed from that of Secretary of the Province who received his appointment from the Lords Proprietors and later the king. The office has been continuous since the chartering of the colony, and the documentation to be found among the records of the secretary are of extraordinary historical significance due to the fact that he has been the principal records keeper of North Carolina. Records of many one-time or sometime executive functions such as the laying of the boundaries of the state can be found among the records of the secretary due to the fact that legislatively mandated executive functions were overseen, but not directed, by him. Documentary material found among the papers of the secretary of state, then, are broader than the operations of the office itself. This is an exception to the normal archival standard which is that the records of a specific function document only that function, and for this reason the secretary's records take on added significance from the standpoint of historical research. The records of the Office of the Secretary of State are adequately described in finding aids; but the finding aids are old and not as comprehensive as those prepared by present archival standards. Many records remain in the current secretary of state's office, particularly those relating to land.

The records of the Offices of Treasurer and Comptroller (in some periods entitled Auditor), although separate offices, became mingled in the nineteenth century and their provenance or origin lost. These records, a few dating back to the seventeenth century, are of particular significance because they document the uses to which the colony's and state's liquid and capital assets were put. In addition they account for the accumulation and disposal of the wealth of North Carolina and deal with money matters of many types. The finding aids to these records, like those of the secretary of state, are adequate but not as comprehensive as present archival standards mandate.

There are records documenting thousands of other functions and from hundreds of colonial and state offices, departments, commissions, boards, agencies, and other bodies included among the archives of North Carolina. The most valuable aspect of the records of these functions and offices is usually that which documents the creation and implementation of public policy. Examples are the minutes and other records of the North Carolina Board of Education and the Superintendent of Public Instruction. These document the creation, development, implementation, and alteration of policy in regard to public education, its response to public opinion, and philosophical developments relating to the subject. Another good example, selected from a modern agency, are the records of the Department of Social Services which reflect the changing attitudes and theories as the concept of "public charity" developed into "public welfare," and further into "social service" as a mainstream public function and a part of governmental policy incorporated into law. In summary, the colonial and state records of North Carolina encompass all aspects of a government acting in its political capacity as sovereign.

THE RECORDS OF THE COUNTIES OF NORTH CAROLINA

The nature of a county government is very different from that of a state or national government. The major function of a sovereign body such as a state is the creation and implementation of public policy; but a county does not exercise sovereignty nor does it create policy. Rather it executes the orderly administration of a defined geographical area for the general welfare and safety of its inhabitants. It is the county in its welfare capacity acting through its creature the county court, and in later days the county commissioners in addition to the court, whose functions are reflected in the county records.

The county then is the next level of authority and organization above that of the family, and its functions are an extension of the family in the sense that it affords the same sort of protection and privilege to its citizens both weak and strong, old and young, that a good man in the prime of life would afford his children, spouse, siblings, and parents. One of the basic principles of a civilized society is the exaction of public vengeance for private wrongs through the impartial enforcement of law. The chief executive officer of a county, the sheriff, is charged with the maintenance of law and order as well as other executive functions, and he is directly responsible to the county court.

Another familial type of county function is that of caring for the person and affairs of those unable to care for themselves. This function, a direct responsibility of the county court, extends to protection of the unborn, the orphaned, the insane, the incompetent, the poor, the indigent, the bound, the elderly, and the dead. These responsibilities are usually executed through established institutions such as insane asylums, homes for the elderly, and hospitals or through citizen agents functioning as guardians, administrators, executors, or masters of apprentices. Citizen agents are usually required to post performance bonds and to report regularly to the court; and the institutions, as a part of the county government, create records of their own. Other institutions often found as a part of county governments include jails, reform schools, public schools, poor houses, and libraries. These institutions, although seemingly unrelated, all reflect the county functioning for the welfare of its inhabitants.

An administrative function of counties is the maintenance of various registries to record events for the protection of the principals concerned and the advertisement of the events to the public at large. Among these are the registration of births, deaths, marriages, divorces, property transfers, major debts, military discharges, and wills. All of these registers contain the records of what is traditionally accepted as the most important changes in status and in wealth in an individual's life. The registers are open to the public from the moment of creation and serve both as a constant record of the individual's changes in condition and as a record of the second step from a primitive society: the accretion of dependents and property.

This second level of civilization--publicly proclaimed responsibilities and exclusive claims in the form of marriage, family, and property--has been recognized as an underlying force behind western society since history has been recorded. It is only natural then that the disposition of one's property should be of utmost concern to individuals aware of their own mortality. Property, as the ultimate measure of the state of a person's welfare, has since ancient Rome been disposed of according to the wishes of the owner in the form of a will. The enforcement of the terms of a will is a function of the county court, and if the will is prepared according to the proper forms, it is the only time that an ordinary individual has the opportunity to create policy that will be carried out with the force of law by a duly constituted court of record. An ordinary man, then, is able to play the role of sovereign only in the drawing of his will. Such an important court function is recorded in minute detail from the probate of the will itself, to the swearing and posting of bond of the administrators or executors, to the registering of the will, to the inventory of the estate, its disposition, and its closing. Records relating to estates, which include the disposition of the property of those who die without a will, constitute one of the most important groups to be found among the county records due to the fact that they document the actual transfer of parts of the land of the county and the personal property of its inhabitants.

The welfare of the inhabitants of a county is addressed in a wide variety of other functions such as the control of land usage, the issuing of building permits, the issuing of licenses for the right to exercise various privileges, the maintenance of roads and of a health department among others. Until the state constitution of 1868 all actions in a county were a function of the court. After 1868 with the introduction of the system of county commissioners, a clear line was established between the judicial and the administrative functions. Judicial actions such as trials, proving (probate of wills, etc.), and swearing (of witnesses, officials, etc.) remained the responsibility of the courts. Administrative actions such as the issuing of licenses, land use permits, and the maintenance of health departments became the responsibility of the commissioners.

In summary, the county records relate to the welfare of the individuals living in the county in a variety of ways. The basic function of the county is the welfare of these inhabitants; and its records document the functions necessary to protect that welfare such as the policy-making functions, relief at court, the existence of institutions, the maintenance of registries, licensing, and land use as well as the orderly transfer of property. The county records are well described in finding aids and are not difficult to research, with the exception of the court minutes which are in chronological order but are seldom indexed.

THE PRIVATE COLLECTIONS OF THE NORTH CAROLINA ARCHIVES

Unlike the county and state records which flow into the State Archives in an orderly and logical manner as prescribed by law, the private collections are usually received as gifts from a private individual or group. As a result, there is no readily discernible logic to the comprehensiveness, type, volume, or nature of private collections. The only things they share in common are their non-governmental origin and their relationship to North Carolina.

The bulk of the private collections are family letters and personal business papers. Many important North Carolina families are represented, and the information contained in the collections usually concerns the interest of the writer, current events, and family affairs. Family papers are particularly valuable for the study of social history, and they often afford a first-hand look at how people lived in various periods. Usually family collections include documents relating to financial matters; but they are best characterized as intimate and personal, and they often afford an insight into the development of ideas and the thought processes of the principals. Correspondence with people other than family members is usually limited to incoming letters since easy methods of maintaining copies are relatively new, and few people went to the trouble of manually copying outgoing correspondence. These collections, more than 1,600, are described in finding aids with autograph and subject index cards. As noted earlier in this essay, the Crabtree *Guide*'s index offers an excellent sense of the range of subjects covered by private collections.

Among the private collections are account books of businesses and plantations, some records and transcripts of colleges, church minutes, and records of a number of North Carolina clubs and organizations. The archives is markedly weak in its holdings relating to political parties and business activities in the state as well as material relating to current events.

THE MILITARY COLLECTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE ARCHIVES

A special collection devoted to the military actions of the colony and state has been assembled from a variety of sources. The Military Collection is unique in the archives and consists of records and manuscripts which document both governmental and private activities. The collection was actually created by archivists and is "artificial" in the sense that it does not flow from specific governmental functions nor private actions but rather is a variety of materials grouped together because they relate to the subject of military actions. The collection, dating from 1742 to 1956, consists of materials under the following headings: Spanish Invasion, 1742-1748; Frontier Scouting and Indian Wars, 1758-1788; the War of the Regulation, 1768-1779; Troop Returns, 1747-1859; the War of the Revolution; the Cumberland Battalion, 1786-1792; the War of 1812; the Mexican War; the Civil War; the Spanish-American War; World War I; World War II; naval miscellaneous papers, 1770-1956. The collection has not been expanded to include the wars in Korea or Vietnam.

During the two world wars special history committees and records collectors were appointed early in the conflicts at both state and county levels, and the results of their efforts are included in this collection. In the cases of other conflicts, the collecting was done retroactively. The collection is uneven in coverage and eclectic in character but is of significant value to researchers in the field of military history. The collection is comprehensively described in finding aids.

This introduction to the North Carolina State Archives is intended to demonstrate the scope of the materials available with emphasis upon the nature of the most important holdings. The outline offered here deals primarily with subjects and events, any study of which should be substantially enhanced by the information available in the collections of the State Archives.

APPENDIX II

RESOURCES OF THE DIVISION OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY

Unless otherwise stated, all unpublished resources are found in the office of the Archaeology and Historic Preservation Section, and all published resources are publications of the Division of Archives and History.

THE NATURAL SETTING: NORTH CAROLINA GEOGRAPHY AND ECOLOGY

a. Historical Publications

Camp, Cordelia. *The Influence of Geography upon Early North Carolina*. 1963.**

Corbitt, David L. *Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590*. Revised, 1953.

Cumming, William P. *North Carolina in Maps*. Reprinted, 1973.

NATIVE AMERICANS: THE INDIANS OF NORTH CAROLINA

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Cashion, Jerry C. *Fort Butler and the Cherokee Indian Removal from North Carolina*. 1970.

Garrow, Patrick H. *The Mattamuskeet Documents: A Study in Social History*. 1975.

b. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Town Creek Indian Mound	Box 306, Mount Gilead, N.C. 27306

c. Historical Publications

Lee, E. Lawrence. *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763*. Reprinted, 1968.

Spindel, Donna. *Introductory Guide to Indian-Related Records in the North Carolina State Archives*. 1977.

South, Stanley A. *Indians in North Carolina*. 6th printing, 1972.

d. Museum of History

Relevant artifacts available in the collections include: Indian artifacts (tools, weapons, clothing, implements).

EUROPEAN EXPLORATION AND BEGINNINGS OF SETTLEMENT, 1497-1660

a. Historical Publications

Corbitt, David Leroy, ed. *Explorations, Descriptions, and Attempted Settlements of Carolina, 1584-1590*. Revised, 1953.

Parker, Mattie Erma Edwards, ed. *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698*. 1963.

Stick, David. *Dare County: A History*. 3rd printing, 1975.

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: weapons, books, Sir Walter Raleigh portrait, coins.

ALBEMARLE COUNTY: CRADLE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1663-1689

a. Historical Publications

Parker, Mattie Erma Edwards, ed. *North Carolina Charters and Constitutions, 1578-1698*. 1963.

__________, ed. *North Carolina Higher-Court Records, 1670-1696*. 1968.

Powell, William S. *The Carolina Charter of 1663*. 1954.*

__________. *The Proprietors of Carolina*. 1968.

__________. *Ye Countie of Albemarle in Carolina. A Collection of Documents, 1664-1675*. 1953.

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: pictures of Lords Proprietors and John Locke.

THE EMERGENCE OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1689-1729

a. Historical Publications

Boyd, William K., ed. *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*. 1929.*

Parker, Mattie Erma Edwards, ed. *North Carolina Higher-Court Records, 1670-1696*. 1968.

__________, ed. *North Carolina Higher-Court Records, 1697-1701*. 1971.

Price, William S., Jr., ed. North Carolina Higher-Court Records, 1702-1708. 1974.

_________, ed. North Carolina Higher-Court Minutes, 1709-1723. 1977.

Rankin, Hugh F. The Pirates of Colonial North Carolina. 5th printing, 1975.

Todd, Vincent H., ed. Christoph Von Graffenreid's Account of the Founding of New Bern. 1920.*

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: North Carolina currency, counterfeiting stamps.

IMMIGRATION AND EXPANSION, 1729-1775

a. Historical Publications

Meyer, Duane. The Highland Scots of North Carolina. 1968.

Newsome, A. R., ed. Records of Emigrants from England and Scotland to North Carolina, 1774-1775. 4th printing, 1976.

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: firearms, currency, coins.

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY, 1729-1775

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Brunswick Town	P.O. Box 356, Southport, N.C. 28461
Historic Halifax	P.O. Box 406, Halifax, N.C. 27839

b. Historical Publications

Cathey, Cornelius O. Agriculture in North Carolina before the Civil War. 1966.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: silver collection.

TRANSPORTATION, TRADE, TOWNS, AND COMMUNICATION IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Brunswick Town	P.O. Box 356, Southport, N.C. 28461
Historic Bath	P.O. Box 124, Bath, N.C. 27808
Historic Halifax	P.O. Box 406, Halifax, N.C. 27839

b. Historical Publications

Cumming, William P. *Captain James Wimble, His Maps, and the Colonial Cartography of the North Carolina Coast*. 1969.

Lennon, Donald R. and Kellam, Ida Brooks. *The Wilmington Town Book, 1743-1778*. 1973.
Journal of colonial town includes information on consumer protection, price controls, maintenance of streets, fire protection, etc.

Parker, Mattie Erma Edwards. *Money Problems of Early Tar Heels*. 5th printing, 1960.

THE SOCIAL ORDER IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Iobst, Richard W. "Report on Hezekiah Alexander House." Unpublished research report.

Simms, Anastatia. "Report on William King House, Bertie County." Unpublished research report.

b. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Brunswick Town	P.O. Box 356, Southport, N.C. 28461
Historic Bath	P.O. Box 124, Bath, N.C. 27808
Historic Halifax	P.O. Box 406, Halifax, N.C. 27839

c. Historical Publications

Allcott, John V. *Colonial Homes in North Carolina*. 1975.

Crow, Jeffrey J. *The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina*. 1977.

Cutten, George B. Revised by Mary Reynolds Peacock. *Silversmiths of North Carolina, 1696-1850*. Revised, 1973.

Lemmon, Sarah McCulloh, ed. *The Pettigrew Papers*. Vol. I, 1685-1818. 1971.

Matthews, Alice E. *Society in Revolutionary North Carolina*. 1976.

Watson, Alan D. *Society in Colonial North Carolina*. 1975.

d. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: snuff boxes, fire tongs, reproduction clay pipes, music staff, writing pen.

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Brunswick Town	P.O. Box 356, Southport, N.C. 28461
Historic Bath	P.O. Box 124, Bath, N.C. 27808
Historic Halifax	P.O. Box 406, Halifax, N.C. 27839

b. Historical Publications

Calhoon, Robert M. *Religion and the American Revolution in North Carolina*. 1976.

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol. I, 1752-1771. Reprinted, 1968.

_________, ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol. II, 1752-1775. Reprinted, 1968.

Hall, Clement. *A Collection of Many Christian Experiences, Sentences, and Several Places of Scripture Improved*. Edited by William S. Powell. 1961.
First nonlegal work published in North Carolina.

Hudson, Arthur Palmer. *Songs of the Carolina Charter Colonists, 1663-1763*. 1962.

Lemmon, Sarah McCulloh, ed. *The Pettigrew Papers*. Vol. I, 1685-1818. 1971.

Powell, William S. Introduction to *The Journal of the House of Burgesses of the Province of North Carolina*. Reprinted, 1958.**

Pruett, James and Rigsby, Lee. *A Selective Music Bibliography from the Period 1663-1763*. 1962.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: bell, book, candle, tokens.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1730-1763: CONSTITUTIONAL CONTROVERSIES AND ANGLO-FRENCH WARS

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Fort Dobbs	Route 9, Box A 415, Statesville, N.C. 28677

b. Historical Publications

Lee, E. Lawrence. *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663-1763*. Reprinted, 1968.

Powell, William S., ed. *The Papers of William Tryon.* Forthcoming.

Robinson, Blackwell P. *The Five Royal Governors of North Carolina, 1729-1775.* Reprinted, 1968.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: weapons.

SECTIONALISM IN COLONIAL NORTH CAROLINA

a. Tryon Palace	Mailing Address
Tryon Palace	P. O. Box 1007, New Bern, N.C. 28560

THE NORTH CAROLINA REGULATORS: 1766-1771

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Alamance Battleground	Route 1, Box 108, Burlington, N.C. 27215

b. Historical Publications

Powell, William S. *The War of the Regulation and the Battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771.* 5th printing, 1975.

Powell, William S., Huhta, James K., and Farnham, Thomas J., comps. and eds. *The Regulators in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1759-1776.* 1971.

THE COMING OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763-1775

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Hatch, Charles E., Jr. "The Battle of Moores Creek Bridge." Unpublished research report.

b. Historical Publications

Boyd, William K., ed. *Some Eighteenth Century Tracts Concerning North Carolina*, 1927*

Butler, Lindley S. *North Carolina and the Coming of the Revolution, 1763-1776.* 1976.

Higginbotham, Don, ed. *The Papers of James Iredell.* Vol. I, 1767-1777. 1976.

Keith, Alice Barnwell. *The John Gray Blount Papers.* Vol. I, 1764-1789. 1952.

Price, William S., Jr. *Not a Conquered People: Two Carolinians View Parliamentary Taxation*. 1975.

THE TRANSITION FROM COLONY TO STATEHOOD, 1776

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Historic Halifax	P.O. Box 406, Halifax, N.C. 27839

b. Historical Publications

Ganyard, Robert L. *The Emergence of North Carolina's Revolutionary State Government*. 1978.

Mitchell, Memory F. *North Carolina's Signers: Brief Sketches of the Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution*. 2nd printing, 1969.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: currency.

THE NEW STATE AND ITS PROBLEMS, 1776-1781

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Caswell-Neuse	P.O. Box 3043, Kinston, N.C. 28501
Iredell House	105 E. Church Street, P.O. Box 474, Edenton, N. C. 27932

b. Historical Publications

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol. III, 1776-1779. Reprinted, 1968.

Higginbotham, Don, ed. *The Papers of James Iredell*. Vol. I, 1767-1777. 1976.

__________, ed. *The Papers of James Iredell*. Vol. II, 1778-1783. 1976.

Troxler, Carole Watterson. *The Loyalist Experience in North Carolina*. 1976.

THE WAR IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1776-1781

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Meier, Kathleen E. "General William Lenoir and Fort Defiance." Unpublished research report.

b. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
House in the Horseshoe	Route 3, Box 924, Sanford, N.C. 27330

c. Historical Publications

Calhoon, Robert M. *Religion and the American Revolution in North Carolina*. 1976.

Crow, Jeffrey J. *A Chronicle of North Carolina During the American Revolution*. 1975.

__________. *The Black Experience in Revolutionary North Carolina*. 1977.

Matthews, Alice E. *Society in Revolutionary North Carolina*. 1976.

Moss, Patricia B., comp. and Crow, Jeffrey J., ed. *A Guidebook to Revolutionary Sites in North Carolina*. 1975.

O'Donnell, James H. III. *The Cherokees of North Carolina in the American Revolution*. 1976.

Rankin, Hugh F. *Greene and Cornwallis: The Campaign in the Carolinas*. 1976.

__________. *The North Carolina Continental Line in the American Revolution*. 1977.

__________. *North Carolina in the American Revolution*. 4th printing, 1975.

Robinson, Blackwell P. *The Revolutionary War Sketches of William R. Davie*. 1976.

Still, William N., Jr. *North Carolina's Revolutionary War Navy*. 1976.

AFTERMATH OF THE REVOLUTION, 1781-1789

a. Historical Publications

Fries, Adelaide L. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol. IV, 1780-1783. Reprinted, 1968.

Higginbotham, Don, ed. *The Papers of James Iredell*. Vol. II, 1778-1783. 1976.

Keith, Alice Barnwell, ed. *The John Gray Blount Papers*. Vol. I, 1764-1789. 1952.

Lemmon, Sarah McCulloh, ed. The Pettigrew Papers. Vol. I, 1685-1818. 1971.

Walser, Richard, ed. The Poems of Governor Thomas Burke of North Carolina. 1961.

b. Tryon Palace John Wright Stanly House	Mailing Address P.O.Box 1007, New Bern, N.C. 28560

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE FEDERAL UNION, 1777-1789

a. Historical Publications

Mitchell, Memory F. North Carolina's Signers: Brief Sketches of the Men Who Signed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. 2nd printing, 1969.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE FEDERALISTS, 1789-1800

a. Historical Publications

Keith, Alice Barnwell, ed. The John Gray Blount Papers. Vol. II, 1790-1795. 1959.

Masterson, William H. The John Gray Blount Papers. Vol. III, 1796-1802. 1965.

Wagstaff, H. M., ed. The Papers of John Steele. Vol. I, Vol. II, 1778-1815. 1924.*

b. State Capitol/Visitor Services Center

Treasurer and Comptroller Papers, 1793-1808. North Carolina State Archives.
See "Capital Buildings-Statehouse."

NORTH CAROLINA IN THE JEFFERSONIAN ERA, 1801-1815

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Iobst, Richard W. "Personal Life of David Stone of Historic Hope Plantation." Unpublished research report.

b. Historical Publications

Lemmon, Sarah McCulloh. North Carolina and the War of 1812. 1971.

Wagstaff, H. M., ed. *The Papers of John Steele*. Vol. I, Vol. II, 1778-1815. 1924.*

EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY NORTH CAROLINA: "THE RIP VAN WINKLE STATE"

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Cashion, Jerry C. "James Knox Polk and North Carolina." Unpublished research report.

Cathey, Boyd D. "Nathaniel Macon and Buck Spring." Unpublished research report.

Harris, Max F. *The Andrew Johnson Birthplace Problem*. 1963.

"Report on Andrew Johnson Birthplace." Unpublished research report.

b. Historic Sites

	Mailing Address
Historic Bath	P.O. Box 124, Bath, N.C. 27808
Polk Memorial	P.O. Box 475, Pineville, N.C. 28134
Vance Birthplace	Route 1, Box 465, Weaverville, N.C. 28787

c. Historical Publications

Cathey, Cornelius O. *Agriculture in North Carolina before the Civil War*. 1974.

Coon, Charles L., ed. *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1790-1840*. 1908.*

__________. *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*. 1915.*

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol. VII, 1808-1822. Reprinted, 1970.

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*. Vol. I, 1803-1830. 1918.*

Wagstaff, H. M., ed. *The Papers of John Steele*. Vol. II, 1806-1815. 1924.*

d. Museum of History

Relevant artifacts include: tools and equipment.

THE MURPHEY PROGRAM FOR STATE DEVELOPMENT

a. Historical Publications

Hoyt, William Henry, ed. The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey. Vol. I, Vol. II, 1777-1832. 1914.*

Shanks, Henry Thomas, ed. The Papers of Willie Person Mangum. Vol. I, 1807-1832. 1950.

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: printing press.

NORTH CAROLINA'S CHANGING ROLE IN NATIONAL POLITICS, 1824-1835

a. Historical Publications

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, ed. The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Vol. I, 1825-1837. 1957.

Shanks, Henry Thomas, ed. The Papers of Willie Person Mangum. Vol. II, 1833-1838. 1953.

THE CONVENTION OF 1835

a. Historical Publications

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, ed. The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Vol. I, 1825-1837. 1957.

Shanks, Henry Thomas, ed. The Papers of Willie Person Mangum. Vol. II, 1833-1838. 1953.

THE WHIGS INAUGURATE AN AGE OF PROGRESS: NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1835-1850

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Clauser, John W. Seaboard Excavations. 1977.

b. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Spencer Shops	P.O. Box 165, Spencer, N.C. 28159

c. Historical Publications

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, ed. The Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Vol. II, 1831-1858. 1918.*

_________, ed. The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Vol. II, 1838-1844. 1959.

_________, ed. The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Vol. III, 1845-1850. 1960.

Shanks, Henry Thomas, ed. The Papers of Willie Person Mangum. Vol. II, 1833-1838. 1952.

_________, ed. The Papers of Willie Person Mangum. Vol. III, 1839-1843. 1953.

_________, ed. The Papers of Willie Person Mangum. Vol. IV, 1844-1846. 1955.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: banners, campaign memorabilia.

d. State Capitol/Visitor Services

Beck, Raymond L. "The Restoration of the Cabinet of Minerals Room in the North Carolina State Capitol." Unpublished research report located in offices of the State Capitol.

Treasurer and Comptroller Papers, 1831-1840. North Carolina State Archives.
See "Capital Buildings-Capitol."

York, Maury. "Report on the North Carolina State Library." Unpublished research report located in offices of the State Capitol.

CONTINUED PROGRESS UNDER THE DEMOCRATS: NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1850-1860

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Spencer Shops	P.O. Box 165, Spencer, N.C. 28159

b. Historical Publications

Brawley, James S. Rowan County: A Brief History. 1974.

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, ed. The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Vol. IV, 1851-1856. 1961.

Shanks, Henry Thomas, ed. The Papers of Willie Person Mangum. Vol. V, 1847-1894. 1956.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF NORTH CAROLINA, 1835-1860

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Duke Homestead	2828 Duke Homestead Road, Durham, N.C. 27705
Reed Gold Mine	Route 2, Box 101, Stanfield, N.C. 28163

Stagville Center P.O. Box 15628, Durham, N.C. 27704

b. Historical Publications

Brooks, Jerome E. *Green Leaf and Gold: Tobacco in North Carolina*. Revised, 1975.

Cathey, Cornelius O. *Agriculture in North Carolina before the Civil War*. 1966.

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*. Vol. II, 1831-1858. 1918.

Knapp, Richard F. *Golden Promise in the Piedmont: The Story of John Reed's Mine*. 1975.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: Bechtler gold coins.

INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING IN ANTEBELLUM NORTH CAROLINA, 1835-1860

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Gadski, Mary Ellen. "The History of New Bern Academy." Unpublished research report.

b. Historical Publications

Coon, Charles L., ed. *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1790-1840*. 1908.*

________, ed. *North Carolina Schools and Academies, 1790-1840*. 1915.*

Powell, William S. *Higher Education in North Carolina*. Revised, 1970.

Walser, Richard. *Literary North Carolina: A Brief Historical Survey*. 1970.

________. *Young Readers' Picturebook of Tar Heel Authors*. 4th edition, 1975.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: books, writing implements.

RELIGION IN ANTEBELLUM NORTH CAROLINA

a. Historical Publications

Fries, Adelaide L., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol. VII, 1808-1822. 1947.

Fries, Adelaide L. and Rights, Douglas L., eds. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol. VIII, 1823-1837. 1954.

Hamilton, Kenneth G., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol. X, 1841-1856. 1966.

____________________, ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol XI, 1852-1879. 1969.

Smith, Minnie J., ed. *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*. Vol. IX, 1838-1847. 1964.

SOCIETY IN ANTEBELLUM NORTH CAROLINA

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Iobst, Richard W. "Report on the Smith-McDowell House, Buncombe County." Unpublished research report.

Morrill, Dan. L. and Morrill, Mary Lynn. "A Physical History of the Old Burke County Courthouse." Unpublished research report.

Moye, William T. "Report on 'Stonewall', Nash County." Unpublished research report.

"Preliminary Report on Bernard Franklin House, Surry County." Unpublished research report.

b. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Duke Homestead	2828 Duke Homestead Road, Durham, N.C. 27705
Polk Memorial	P.O. Box 475, Pineville, N.C. 28134
Somerset Place	P.O. Box 215, Creswell, N.C. 27928
Stagville Center	P.O. Box 15628, Durham, N.C. 27704

c. Historical Publications

Brawley, James S. *Rowan County: A Brief History*. 1971.

Cutten, George Barton. Revised by Mary Reynolds Peacock. *Silversmiths of North Carolina*, 1696-1850. Revised, 1973.

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*. Vol. II, 1831-1858. 1918.*

________, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*. Vol. III, 1859-1865. 1920.*

________, ed. *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*. Vol. I, 1825-1837. 1927.

________, ed. *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*. Vol. II, 1838-1844. 1959.

________, ed. *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*. Vol. III, 1845-1850. 1960.

________, ed. *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*. Vol. IV, 1851-1856. 1961.

Lee, E. Lawrence. *New Hanover County: A Brief History*. 1971.

Powell, William S. *Annals of Progress: The Story of Lenoir County and Kinston, North Carolina*. 1963.

Stick, David. *Dare County: A History*. 3rd printing, 1975.

Wall, James W. *Davie County: A Brief History*. 1976.

Williams, Max R., ed. *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*. Vol. V, 1857-1863. 1973.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE COMING OF THE CIVIL WAR

a.

Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Polk Memorial	P.O. Box 475, Pineville, N.C. 28134

b. Historical Publications

Hoffmann, William S. *North Carolina in the Mexican War*. 3rd printing, 1969.

Johnston, Frontis W., ed. *The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance*. Vol. I, 1843-1862. 1963.

Shanks, Henry Thomas, ed. *The Papers of Willie Person Mangum*. Vol. V, 1847-1894. 1956.

Tolbert, Noble J., ed. *The Papers of John Willis Ellis*. Vol. I, 1841-1959. 1964.

Williams, Max R., ed. *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*. Vol. V, 1857-1863. 1973.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-1865

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Bright, Leslie S. The Blockade Runner MODERN GREECE and Her Cargo. 1977.

Honeycutt, A. L., Jr. "Fort Macon: Preservation and Restoration." Unpublished research report.

b.

Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Bennett Place	4409 Bennett Memorial Road, Durham, N.C. 27705
Bentonville Battleground	P.O. Box 27, Newton Grove, N.C. 28366
Brunswick Town	P.O. Box 356, Southport, N.C. 28461
Caswell-Neuse	P.O. Box 3043, Kinston, N.C. 28501
Fort Fisher	P.O. Box 68, Kure Beach, N.C. 28449
Vance Birthplace	Route 1, Box 465, Weaverville, N.C. 28787

c. Historical Publications

Barrett, John G. North Carolina as a Civil War Battleground. 4th printing, 1975.

Corbitt, D. L. and Wilborn, Elizabeth W. Civil War Pictures. 5th printing, 1973.

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, ed. The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth. Vol. I, 1841-1866. 1909.*

__________, ed. The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell. Vol. I, 1861-1863. 1929.*

__________, ed. The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell. Vol. II, 1863-1871. 1931.*

__________, ed. The Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Vol. III, 1859-1865. 1920.*

Johnston, Frontis W., ed. The Papers of Zebulon Baird Vance. Vol. I, 1843-1862. 1963.

Manarin, Louis H. and Jordan, Weymouth T., Jr. North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster. Vol. I, artillery. 1966.

________. North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster. Vol. II, cavalry. 1968.

________. North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster. Vol. III, infantry. 1971.

__________. North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster. Vol. IV, infantry. 1973.

__________. North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster. Vol. V., infantry. 1975.

__________. North Carolina Troops, 1861-1865: A Roster. Vol. VI, infantry. 1977.

Patton, James W. and Crabtree, Beth G., eds. "Journal of a Secesh Lady": The Diary of Catherine Ann Devereux Edmondston, 1860-1866. 1979.

Tolbert, Noble J., ed. The Papers of John Willis Ellis. Vol. II, 1860-1861. 1964.

Williams, Max R., ed. The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Vol. V, 1857-1863. 1973.

__________. The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Vol. VI, 1864-1865. 1976.

d. Museum of History

Relevant artifacts include: military articles, confederate currency.

RECONSTRUCTION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1865-1877

a. Historical Publications

Hamilton, J. G. de Roulhac, ed. The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth. Vol. II, 1866-1869. 1909.*

__________, ed. The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell. Vol. II, 1863-1871. 1931.*

__________, ed. The Papers of Randolph Abbott Shotwell. Vol. III, 1871-1873. 1936.*

__________, ed. The Papers of Thomas Ruffin. Vol. IV, 1865-1870. 1920.*

Williams, Max R., ed. The Papers of William Alexander Graham. Vol. VII, 1866-. Forthcoming.

Zuber, Richard L. North Carolina during Reconstruction. 2nd printing, 1975.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1870-1900

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Glass, Brent D., ed. *North Carolina: An Inventory of Historic Engineering and Industrial Sites*. 1975.

Little-Stokes, Ruth, ed. *An Inventory of Historic Architecture: Greensboro, N.C.* 1976.

Shoemaker, Mary, ed. *An Inventory of Historic Architecture of Hamilton, North Carolina*. Forthcoming.

__________, ed. *An Inventory of Historic Architecture of Smithfield, North Carolina*. 1978.

b. Historic Sites

Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Duke Homestead	2828 Duke Homestead Road, Durham, N.C. 27705
Reed Gold Mine	Route 2, Box 101, Stanfield, N.C. 28163
Spencer Shops	P.O. Box 165, Spencer, N.C. 28159

c. Historical Publications

Brooks, Jerome C. *Green Leaf and Gold: Tobacco in North Carolina*. Revised, 1975.

Zuber, Richard L. *North Carolina during Reconstruction*. 2nd printing, 1975.

d. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: machinery, textiles, tobacco collection, furniture.

AGRICULTURE IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1865-1900

a. Historical Publications

Yearns, Wilfred Buck, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Jordan Jarvis*. Vol. I, 1869-1882. 2nd printing, 1975.

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: machinery, farm implements.

EDUCATION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1860-1900: SLOW RECOVERY AFTER THE WAR

a. Historic Sites

Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Aycock Birthplace	P.O. Box 207, Fremont, N.C. 27830

b. Historical Publications

Powell, William S. *Higher Education in North Carolina*. Revised, 1970.

Williams, Max R., ed. *The Papers of William Alexander Graham*. Vol. VII, 1866-. Forthcoming.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: desks, writing implements.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1877-1894: CONSERVATIVE DEMOCRATS IN CONTROL

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Honeycutt, A. L., Jr. "Executive Mansion Report." Unpublished research report.

b. Historical Publications

Jordan, Joye E. *Thomas Jordan Jarvis*. 1945.*

Yearns, Wilfred Buck, ed. *The Papers of Thomas Jordan Jarvis*. Vol. I, 1869-1882. 1969.

c. State Capitol/Visitor Services

The Executive Mansion Fine Arts Committee. *The Executive Mansion*. Revised edition, forthcoming.

Treasurer and Comptroller Papers, 1877-1886. North Carolina State Archives.
See "Capital Buildings-Governor's Mansion."

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1894-1900: FUSION RULE AND THE RETURN OF THE DEMOCRATS TO POWER

a. Historical Publications

Steelman, Joseph F. *North Carolina's Role in the Spanish American War*. 1975.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1900-1920: ERA OF DEMOCRATIC DOMINANCE

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Aycock Birthplace	P.O. Box 207, Fremont, N.C. 27830

b. Historical Publications

Jordan, Joye E. *The Wildcat Division.* 1945.*

Lemmon, Sarah McCulloh. *North Carolina's Role in the First World War*. 2nd printing, 1975.

Martin, Santford, comp. and House, R. B., ed. *Public Letters and Papers of Thomas Walter Bickett, Governor of North Carolina, 1917-1921.* 1923.*

NORTH CAROLINA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH FROM TURN OF THE CENTURY TO THE 1920s

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Duke Homestead	2828 Duke Homestead Road, Durham, N.C. 27705
Spencer Shops	P.O. Box 165, Spencer, N.C. 28159

b. Historical Publications

Brooks, Jerome E. *Green Leaf and Gold: Tobacco in North Carolina.* Revised, 1975.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: military articles.

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL GROWTH IN NORTH CAROLINA FROM THE TURN OF THE CENTURY TO THE 1920s

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Aycock Birthplace	P.O. Box 207, Fremont, N.C. 27830
Wolfe Memorial	P.O. Box 7143, Asheville, N.C. 28807

b. Historical Publications

Powell, William S. *Higher Education in North Carolina.* Revised, 1970.

Walser, Richard. *Literary North Carolina: A Brief Historical Survey.* 1970.

____________. *Young Readers' Picturebook of Tar Heel Authors.* 4th edition, 1975.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1920-1932

a. Historical Publications

Corbitt, David Leroy, ed. *Public Papers and Letters of Angus Wilton McLean, Governor of North Carolina, 1925-1929.* 1931.*

Gill, Edwin, comp. and Corbitt, David Leroy, ed. *Public Papers and Letters of Oliver Max Gardner, Governor of North Carolina, 1929-1933.* 1937.*

Richardson, William H., comp. and Corbitt, David Leroy, ed. Public Papers and Letters of Cameron Morrison, Governor of North Carolina, 1921-1925. 1927.*

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: campaign memorabilia.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE NEW DEAL, 1933-1941

a. Historical Publications

Corbitt, David Leroy, ed. Addresses, Letters and Papers of John Christoph Blucher Ehringhaus, Governor of North Carolina, 1933-1937. 1950.*

___________, ed. Addresses, Letters and Papers of Clyde Roark Hoey, Governor of North Carolina, 1937-1941. 1944.*

WORLD WAR II AND AFTER: NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1941-1952

a. Historical Publications

Corbitt, David Leroy, ed. Public Addresses, Letters, and Papers of Joseph Melville Broughton, Governor of North Carolina, 1941-1945. 1950.*

_____________, ed. Public Addresses and Papers of Robert Gregg Cherry, Governor of North Carolina, 1945-1949. 1951.*

_____________, ed. Public Addresses, Letters and Papers of William Kerr Scott, Governor of North Carolina, 1949-1953. 1957.*

Lemmon, Sarah McCulloh. North Carolina's Role in World War II. 2nd printing, 1969.

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: military articles.

THE CONTINUING INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1930-1960

a. Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Duke Homestead	2828 Duke Homestead Road, Durham, N.C. 27705

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: Governor Luther Hodges collection.

AGRICULTURE, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1930-1960s

a. Historic Sites

Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Duke Homestead	2828 Duke Homestead Road, Durham, N.C. 27705
Spencer Shops	P.O. Box 165, Spencer, N.C. 28159

b. Museum of History

Relevant artifacts include: rolling stock.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1930-1960s

a. Historic Sites

Historic Sites	Mailing Address
Wolfe Memorial	P.O. Box 7143, Asheville, N.C. 23807

b. Historical Publications

Walser, Richard. Literary North Carolina: A Brief Historical Survey. 1970.

______________. Young Readers' Picturebook of Tar Heel Authors. 4th edition, 1975.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: entertainment equipment.

NORTH CAROLINA POLITICS, 1952-1965

a. Historical Publications

Corbitt, David Leroy, ed. Public Addresses, Letters, and Papers of William Bradley Umstead, Governor of North Carolina, 1953-1954. 1957.*

Mitchell, Memory F., ed. Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Daniel Killian Moore, Governor of North Carolina, 1965-1969. 1971.**

________________, ed. Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Terry Sanford, Governor of North Carolina, 1961-1965. 1966.**

Patton, James W., ed. Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Luther Hartwell Hodges, Governor of North Carolina, 1954-1961. Vol. I, 1954-1956. 1960.*

______________, ed. Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Luther Hartwell Hodges, Governor of North Carolina, 1954-1961. Vol. II, 1957-1958. 1962.**

_______________, ed. *Messages, Addresses, and Public Papers of Luther Hartwell Hodges, Governor of North Carolina, 1954-1961.* Vol. III, 1959-1960. 1963.**

b. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts include: campaign memorabilia, governors' effects.

* Out of Print
** Limited Number Available

APPENDIX III

COMPREHENSIVE RESOURCES
(encompassing a variety of topics and periods)

a. Archaeology and Historic Preservation

Architectural Research Reports.
These are generally unpublished research reports on preservation and restoration projects.

Bishir, Catherine W. *North Carolina Entries in the National Register of Historic Places*. Forthcoming.

Files on Archaeological Investigations.
Projects conducted and reviewed by the Archaeology Branch at approximately 1,000 sites throughout state.

Guide to North Carolina Historical Highway Markers. 6th edition, 1964. 7th edition, forthcoming.

Historical Highway Marker Files.
Includes files on 1,200 extant historical markers and approximately 1,250 additional rejected or future marker subjects.

Historic and Architectural Resources of the Tar-Neuse River Basin. 6 vols. 1977.
Inventory of resources in twenty-nine counties of central and eastern North Carolina ranging over 200 years of history.

Hood, Davyd Foard, ed. *An Inventory of Historic Architecture of Rowan County, North Carolina*. Forthcoming.

Little-Stokes, Ruth, ed. *An Inventory of Historic Architecture of Caswell County, North Carolina*. 1978.

__________________, ed. *An Inventory of Historic Architecture of Iredell County, North Carolina*. 1978.

Morrill, Dan L. *Historic Properties Commissions: A Manual of Practice*. 1976.
Guide to organizing and operating a historic properties commission.

National Register Files.
Includes information on approximately 10,000 of state's historic properties.

The National Register of Historic Places. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1969-present.
See North Carolina Section. Contains basic information on over 500 of state's historic places.

North Carolina Archaeological Council Publications. 5 vols.
Reports on archaeological investigations of both prehistoric and historic sites. Additional volumes forthcoming. Publication number one is of special interest: David Sutton Phelps, ed. *Anthropological Bibliography of North Carolina*. 1974.

"A Selective Bibliography of Architectural References with Particular Emphasis on North Carolina and Related Areas." Unpublished research report.

Shoemaker, Mary McCahon, ed. *An Inventory of Historical Architecture in the Town of Smithfield*. 1977.

Smith, McKeldon, ed. *An Inventory of Historic Architecture of Guilford County, North Carolina*. Forthcoming.

5. Historical Publications

Corbitt, David Leroy. *The Formation of the North Carolina Counties, 1663-1943*. 3rd printing, 1975.

__________________. *Secretaries of the U.S. Navy: Brief Sketches of Five North Carolinians*. 1958.*

Crabtree, Beth G. *North Carolina Governors, 1585-1973: Brief Sketches*. Revised, 1974.

Crow, Jeffrey J., ed. *Public History in North Carolina, 1903-1978*. 1979.

Cumming, William P. *North Carolina in Maps*. Reprinted, 1973.

Ed[illegible]s, W. R. Revised by David Leroy Corbitt. *The North Carolina State Flag*. 7th printing, 1974.

Grimes, J. Bryan. Revised by David Leroy Corbitt. *The History of the Great Seal of North Carolina*. 9th printing, 1974.

Newsome, A. R., ed. *North Carolina Documents, 1584-1868*. 1967.
Facsimile documents.

The North Carolina Historical Review (1924-present).
Contains articles on many phases of North Carolina and southern history, documentary materials, and book reviews.

The Old North State Fact Book. 1976.
Contains information on state's government and history, as well as other pertinent facts relating to North Carolina.

Wilborn, Elizabeth W. North Carolina Historical Almanack, 4th printing, 1964.
Calendar-almanac with facts of North Carolina history for each day of the year.

c. Museum of History
Relevant artifacts available in the collection include: housewares, clothing, furniture, weapons, currency, tools and equipment, campaign memorabilia, books, jewelry, and military articles.

Strongly Recommended

The Way We Lived in North Carolina, Sydney Nathans, ed.; UNC Press, 1983; 5 vol. Produced under the direction of the Division of Archives and History, each volume interprets a particular era in North Carolina history, linking selected historic properties with their larger historical context. Volume titles are Natives and Newcomers (pre-1770); An Independent People (1770-1829); Close to the Land (1820-1870); The Quest for Progress (1870-1920); and Express Lanes and Country Roads (post-1920).

*Out of Print

NOTES ON SOURCES

By far the most complete history of the state is *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), by Hugh T. Lefler and Albert Ray Newsome. Other histories consulted in the writing of this outline are: Samuel A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina* (Greensboro, N.C.: C. L. Van Noppen, 1908-1925; reprint, Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1971); William K. Boyd, *History of North Carolina: The Federal Period, 1783-1860* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1919; reprint, Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1973); Robert D. W. Connor, *History of North Carolina: The Colonial and Revolutionary Periods, 1584-1783* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1919; reprint, Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1973), and *North Carolina: Rebuilding an Ancient Commonwealth, 1584-1925* (Chicago: The American History Society, Inc., 1929); and J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, *North Carolina Since 1860* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1919; reprint, Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1973). Another work by Lefler, *A Guide to the Study and Reading of North Carolina History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), is also a useful source.

For information concerning the status of blacks in early North Carolina history, *White Over Black* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968) by Winthrop Jordan, is particularly good. Eugene Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974) and Kenneth Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution* (New York: Knopf, 1956) are good sources for researching slaves and slavery in the state.

"The North Carolina Regulation, 1766-1776: A Class Conflict" by Marvin L. Michael Kay (in Alfred Young, *The American Revolution*, Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976) discusses the Regulator movement. Gov. Daniel Russell's fight with Southern Railway is dealt with in an article by Jeffrey J. Crow entitled "'Populism to Progressivism' in North Carolina: Governor Daniel Russell and his War on the Southern Railway Company" (*The Historian*, August, 1975, pp. 649-667).

Other sources used for this work are listed in the appendixes.